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On the Kyivan Princely Tradition from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries

OLENA V. RUSYNA

Commenting in the last third of the seventeenth century on the confirmation of the Lithuanian palatine Martin Gasztołd in Kyiv in 1471, the compiler of the *Synopsis* noted: "И от того времени преславное самодержавіе киевское, Богу тако грех ради человеческих попустившу, в уничиженіе толико приіде, яко от царствія в княженіе, а от княженія в воеводство пременися."[1] Although this observation was entirely correct from a factual point of view, the history of Kyiv cannot serve as an illustration of the well-known paraphrase "Sic transit gloria urbis," for even after Kyiv lost its political significance (which was determined by the presence of the "senior" Rus′ prince and the metropolitan of all Rus′) it retained for several centuries its charismatic status as the "first among all cities and lands."[2] This is clearly evident in sources from the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries in which Kyiv is described as the "chief city of all Rus′" (an epistle by Patriarch Nil in 1380), the "mother and head of all Rus′ cities" (the trip to Constantinople in 1419 by Zosyma, deacon of the Trinity-Serhiiv Monastery), the "head of all Rus′ lands" (a letter by Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas in 1427), the "glorious great city of Kyiv, mother of cities" (the Kyiv Condensed, or Volhynian Concise, Chronicle from the first half of the sixteenth century), the "blessed city, also known as the mother of cities in the Rus′ land" (a charter by Patriarch Maxim, dated 1481, but in fact a late sixteenth-century forgery).[3] Sebastian Kl′onovych expressed this idea in poetic form in his poem *Roxolania* (1584):

> Know all people that in Rus′ Kyiv means as much
> As ancient Rome once did for all Christians.[4]

No wonder these ideas were frequently used in the political and ideological sphere. In the sixteenth century, in particular, the claim that Kyiv continued to be the capital of all Rus′ ("był i jest głową i głównem miastem Ruskiej ziemie" or "caput terrarum Russiae, Podoliae et Voliniae") became an important component of the restitution theory, which was used to justify the "reintegration" of the Rus′ palatinates of Lithuania with Crown Poland in 1569.[5] The theory itself was created as the antithesis to similar claims by the Muscovite rulers, who had energetically insisted since the late fifteenth century on their right to rule freely throughout their Rus′ "patrimony."

It should be noted that this patrimonial conception (the genesis of which has been thoroughly investigated in the specialized literature) could have appeared

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only in the absence in southern Rus′ of elite groups that would have proclaimed their descent from the ancient Kyiv Riurykide dynasty and would have maintained political and dynastic continuity.[6] On the other hand, Muscovite ideologists took into account the Kyiv region's own tradition of princely rule even when this tradition was interrupted. It is significant that Muscovy's first concrete step toward the "return" of the southern Rus′ lands was the conclusion of an alliance in 1490 with Caesar Maximilian according to which he was to support Ivan III in his struggle for the "Kyiv principality, which is held by the Polish king Casimir and his children."[7] The terminology used by the Polish side was similar: in 1569 the Kyiv region was united to the Crown as the "Kyiv land and principality."[8]

In analyzing these facts we should, of course, take into account the inertia of social thought and the continued use of anachronistic names for administrative and territorial units.[9] Yet ideas of Kyiv as the bearer of the princely tradition, ideas shaped both by historical memories of Old Rus′ and by the political practice of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, when this tradition was implemented in other ways, also left their mark.[10] The paradox is that because of the interruption in chronicle writing in the region and the disturbance of dynastic relations with those Eastern Slavic lands where chronicle writing was continued we possess far less information about the tradition of the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries than about the Old Rus′ tradition and thus have only a superficial and schematic understanding, even of individual personalities.[11] The subject requires serious professional elaboration, including both purely historical and archeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence. This study, which summarizes the author's observations in this field and defines the questions that should draw scholarly attention, is a step in that direction.

One of the most important of these questions is the transformation of the princely tradition in the Kyiv region during the Tatar period (1340s–1450s). In our view, Mykhailo Hrushevs′kyi was right when he hypothesized that the region's loss of its princes after Batu Khan's invasion was directly connected with the absence of a local dynasty and Kyiv's specific status as the common patrimony of the Riurykide dynasty, to which all its branches had equal claims.[12] The traditional mechanisms that ensured the functioning of princely rule in Kyiv broke down because of the particularization of the political ambitions of the Rus′ princes, which became especially evident in the 1340s, when both Danylo Romanovych and Iaroslav Vsevolodovych took the Kyiv throne with the assistance of their deputies. Their successor, Oleksandr Iaroslavych, also did not appear in Kyiv: having received from the Tatars after the death of his father "Kyiv and the entire Rus′ land," he returned from Karakorum to Novgorod and did not settle down until he seized from his brother Andrei the Vladimir principality (1252), after which, in John Fennel's words, "Kiev and the south had as it were slipped from the hands of the rulers of north-east [Rus′] . . . "[13]

The attempt to prolong the existence of the institution of princely rule and hence of Kyivan Rus′ as a viable political organism by citing "the firm chronicle tradition according to which Kyiv continued to remain in the hands of northern princes," can hardly be considered successful.[14] After all, it is only a matter of the late, seventeenth-century Hustynia Chronicle in which Oleksandr Iaroslavych and his brother and successor on the Vladimir throne Iaroslav Iaroslavych are called, accordingly, "Muscovite and Kyiv" and "Lithuanian and Kyiv" princes.[15] The absurdity of the first predicates clearly testifies against the latter. Even more doubtful is the reference in the same chronicle under the year 1305 to the beginning of Ivan Kalita's rule in Kyiv.[16] It is true that the nature of this reference does not keep researchers from tracing it back to a hypothetical chronicle by Volodymyr Ol′herdovych and synchronizing it with a supposed expedition by Gediminas against Kyiv in 1324.[17] So this question clearly cannot be answered without a thorough textual analysis of the Hustynia Chronicle. And yet it is symptomatic that such a thoughtful scholar as Hrushevs′kyi, who at first saw in it "certain hints" to Kyiv chronicle writing in the second half of the fourteenth century, later completely changed his mind and wrote: "The editor of the compilation of these events did not have at his disposal any source that we do not know of, and his reports are obviously only his own surmises and as such worthless."[18]

We believe that the Kyiv throne, which was vacant after the early 1250s, could hardly have been filled using the resources of the region, that is, by recruitment of rulers from among the local boyars. This possibility was not contradicted by A. B. Presniakov, who emphasized that "the Tatars offered to the boyar Fedir, who was tortured to death in the Horde together with Prince Mykhailo of Chernihiv, the reign of the latter if he made concessions to their demands."[19] But the account of Mykhailo's death that he quotes is, despite a number of documentary details, a literary creation intended to glorify Mykhailo and Fedir as martyrs and so can hardly be relied upon in this case.[20] In addition, such a procedure was impossible from the point of view of the mentality of both the Old Rus′ period and later ages.[21] It suffices to recall the events that occurred in Kyiv after the death of Semen Olel′kovych in 1470: the people of Kyiv refused to recognize Martin Gasztołd as their ruler because he was not of princely descent and demanded that Casimir set up Mykhailo Olel′kovych or any other prince regardless of his religion.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the Kyiv region was, in the words of Giovanni da Pian del Carpini, "under the direct rule of the Tatars."[22] It was only at the end of the thirteenth century that a princely dynasty, of Putyvl′ descent, was established here. Information about it, which has been called "a bright ray cast into the impenetrable gloom of Kyiv history after Batu Khan's invasion," was contained in a now lost synodal book from the Novhorod-Siverskyi Transfiguration Monastery in which were listed the names of princes Ioann of Putyvl′, his son Ioann-Volodymyr Ioannovych of Kyiv, Andrii of Ovruch, and his son Vasyl′, killed at Putyvl′.[23] Having established themselves

on the Kyiv throne, the princes of Putyvl' maintained extremely close ties with their patrimony (where younger representatives of the dynasty were possibly in power). Traces of these ties are recorded at a later age (the late fourteenth century) in the form of the administrative subordination of Putyvl' to Kyiv.[24] Scholarly literature correctly pointed out that this union "from the geographic point of view . . . was rather artificial: the Putyvl' region did not have a direct connection with Kyiv."[25] So the proposed explanation of this phenomenon strikes us as the most likely one.

It is true that the entries in the Novhorod-Siverskyi synodal book are not dated, which allowed P. G. Klepatskii, despite the opinions of R. V. Zotov, Hrushevs'kyi, and other scholars, to attribute the rule of Ioann-Volodymyr Ioannovych of Kyiv to the early fifteeenth century.[26] Yet this dating is contradicted by the prince's double name: as Andrzej Poppe has observed, "the last known prince Volodymyr who was given a separate baptismal name was Volodymyr-Ioann Vasyl'kovych, nephew of Danylo of Halych, who was born about 1249 . . . in the 1320s–1340s the princely name Volodymyr became a baptismal name in five princely families. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the name of St. Volodimer was used in baptisms in boyar and merchant families (the first to be mentioned was the Muscovite voivode Vladimir Vsevolodovich, born close to 1340)."[27] As for the genealogical constructions of Klepatskii, who identified Ioann-Volodymyr as the grandson of Koryhailo Ol'herdovych, their groundlessness was convincingly established by A. Prochaska.[28]

It is difficult to determine how the princes of Putyvl' were established in Kyiv. The most likely explanation is that the leading role was played by the support of the Tatar feudals who settled in the Seim River region, which in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries was a zone of active Turko-Slavic contacts.[29] And yet it would be premature to ignore completely the Galician-Volhynian factor. The possibility of identifying Prince Andrii of Ovruch, by origin from Putyvl', with Andrii Putyvlych (or Putyvlets') from Lev Danylovych's entourage appears quite attractive.[30] And yet this assumption is no more than a hypothesis.[31]

No less problematic is the question whether Prince Fedir of Kyiv, known for his robbery of the Novgorod archbishop Vasilii in 1331, belonged to the Putyvl' dynasty.[32] Zotov confidently described him as a relative of Ioann-Volodymyr of Kyiv and Andrii of Ovruch, but this can be explained as an erroneous reading of the Kyiv synodal book published by Filaret.[33] In our view, this prince can be more likely identified as the "great prince Feodor" mentioned in the *pom'ianyk* from the Kyiv Caves Monastery.[34] Although this does not shed light on his origin, it does once again show how important it is, as Hrushevs'kyi himself insisted, to locate, publish, and study all the princely synodal books from the Kyiv and Chernihiv regions.[35]

On the other hand, it is now possible, we think, to reject completely the idea of family ties between Fedir of Kyiv and Gediminas, which gained currency in

historiography through the publication in V. N. Beneshevich's "Excerpts from the History of the Rus′ Church in the Fourteenth Century" of brief notes written in Greek and contained in a fourteenth-century Greek collection at the Vatican.[36] Fasmer and Priselkov's "first attempt to translate and explain . . . this interesting but complicated source for the history of the Rus′ Church" is in our view unsuccessful: in interpreting the data they made a number of mistakes, arbitrary assumptions, and distortions.[37] This makes it impossible to agree with Priselkov's attribution of the excerpts to the chancellery of Metropolitan Theognost: some of the entries more probably concern Metropolitan Maxim, who died in 1305, and his successor Peter. In the reference to "Fedor, brother of Gediminas," Fasmer's reading of the second anthroponym is hypothetical, and the absence of a princely title with both names, as well as the absence of such information in the sources, makes such an identification improbable.[38] Based on such a shaky foundation in the sources, the revival in recent decades of the belief that Gediminas's expedition to Kyiv was a historical reality, which was rejected by historiography at the turn of the century, is now, in the final analysis, groundless.[39] His imaginary brother cannot be identified without sufficient arguments with Fedir of Kyiv: the only undisputed element in the chronicle account of the events of 1331 is the presence in Kyiv, along with the local prince, of a representative of the Tatar administration. Obviously the territorial limits of their competence were preserved: the borders of the Kyiv *t′ma* were simultaneously the borders of the Kyiv principality.[40]

This situation could have also existed in the second half of the fourteenth century, when Ol′herd, who "took" Kyiv under the local prince, placed his son Volodymyr here: during the reign of the latter the dependence of his realms on the Golden Horde had not been abolished.[41] As well, there is a good bit of misunderstanding concerning the definition of the borders of Volodymyr Ol′herdovych's "state." On the one hand, data from reliable, even though chronologically later, sources are not always taken into account. Klepatskii, in particular, made chronological calculations to prove that the Mozyr region belonged to the Kyiv Ol′herdovyches.[42] Yet a deed to lands in the western Mozyr region made by Volodymyr Ol′herdovych and copied by Peter Mohyla, whose authenticity is beyond doubt, has been known since the 1870s.[43] The presence of Volodymyr's deputy Kalenyk Myshkovych in Putyvl′, which was established by B. Koialovich, is in complete accordance with contemporary genealogical schemes and refutes O. Andriiashev's opinion that the Putyvl′ region was brought under Kyiv's rule only in the fifteenth century.[44]

On the other hand, in recent decades scholars have uncritically accepted the data of a synchronous but extremely specific source, a chronicle register titled "А се имена всем градом руским, далним і близгним," in which under the heading "А се києвьскии гроды" seventy-one cities are mentioned, which a number of scholars believe to have been "united in practice in Volodymyr Ol′herdovych's state in the late fourteenth century."[45]

In analyzing this information it is important to stress that pre-Soviet historiography was skeptical about the list as a historical source. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literature pointed out on numerous occasions that the text contained strata from various periods, and use of the list in scholarly works was considered unacceptable.[46] In the 1950s, however, Mikhail Tikhomirov studied the document and concluded that it was a "work from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century that was intended to provide a brief list of the Rus′ cities of that time."[47] Although scholars later frequently turned to the list (L. V. Cherepnin, B. O. Rybakov, I. B. Grekov, Ie. P. Naumov, O. V. Podosinov, and others), the view that it was a reliable source for the historical and geographic realia of the late fourteenth–early fifteenth centuries has not changed.

The one exception, apparently, is Poppe, who has analyzed the Volhynian part of the list and offered evidence that the author used sources from various times.[48] In this light it does not appear accidental that Korets′ (Korches′k) appears in the list as a Kyiv city. Like the entire Horyn′ River region, it had become part of the Volhynian land in the mid-twelfth century and remained as such in the 1480s–1490s as the property of the Ostroz′kyi family.[49] On the other hand, both Volhynian and Galician cities (L′viv, Kholm, Halych, etc.) are called "Volhynian," a phenomenon that makes no sense in the light of late fourteenth-century political geography and whose explanation must be sought in sources from the period of the Galician-Volhynian state.

Perpetuation of anachronistic ideas is also the explanation for the unification in the Kyiv register of cities from the Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav regions, all of which had been jointly called Rus′ (in the strict sense of the word) in twelfth- and thirteenth-century chronicles and constituted the territorial and political core of Old Rus′.[50] And yet this may be a copying of the structure of Tatar edicts (known to us from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century confirmations), in which Chernihiv, Ryl′s′k, Kurs′k, Putyvl′, and other cities are listed under the heading "Ино почонши от Києва . . . "[51] It is at least obvious that the compiler (or compilers) of the list had at his disposal both types of sources, and this document, in Andriiashev's apt phrase, "shows more knowledge of Old Rus′ history than precise historical and geographic data."[52] So it clearly cannot serve as a guide in the reconstruction of the political and geographic realia of Volodymyr's reign.

It is characteristic that scholars are almost completely unanimous in their interpretation of that reign and of subsequent events: they believe that after ruling for thirty years Volodymyr Ol′herdovych was deprived of his appanage in 1394 as a consequence of Vytautas's centralizing and the Kyiv land became a vicegerency or palatinate. In 1440, however, the ruling circles of Lithuania were forced to stabilize the internal political situation by renewing the Kyiv principality, which existed for another thirty years first with Oleksandr (Olel′ko) Volodymyrovych and then with Semen Olel′kovych at its head. The confirmation of Martin Gasztołd in Kyiv marked the end of the Kyiv principality's autonomous existence.

This scheme, which has now become canonical, is simplified and faulty in many respects. First, we do not have sufficient grounds to treat the removal of Volodymyr as an effort to abolish the Kyiv region's appanage system.[53] As F. I. Leontovich correctly pointed out, there are no hints in the sources from Vytautas's time that the rights of the independent princes were being systematically limited in the name of a clear principle of autocracy: the majority of local dynasts did not lose their realms and were not downgraded to "service" princes.[54] As for Volodymyr Ol'herdovych, his removal was determined primarily by the internal political situation in the 1390s: the agreement between Wladysław II Jagiełło and Vytautas to restore to the latter his father's realms and consequently the need to compensate Skirgaila for the loss of Troki. Volodymyr's deposition from the appanage was caused both by the prestige of the Kyiv principality and by his strained relations with Vytautas. The confirmation of Skirgaila Ol'herdovych in Kyiv naturally did not change the status of the Kyiv region as an independent principality.

After the death of Skirgaila in 1396, according to the western Rus' chronicles, "Grand Duke Vytautas sent Prince Ioann Olkgimontovych [Hol'shans'kyi] to Kyiv."[55] This information is contradicted by another chronicle reference: that Ivan Borysovych of Kyiv, whose identity cannot be established and who cannot be identified as Ivan Hol'shans'kyi (who was alive in 1401 and whose father had the Christian name Mykhailo), was killed at the battle on the Vorskla in 1399 along with other Lithuanian and Rus' princes.[56] Unable to reconcile these two reports, scholars usually gave preference to the former. Klepatskii stood alone in defending the historicity of Ivan Borysovych of Kyiv and in identifying him as the son of Koryhailo Ol'herdovych, who could have had the ecclesiastical name Borys. But, as I have noted, he failed to find convincing arguments for his hypothesis.

We should note that in analyzing the report on Prince Ivan Borysovych we must keep in mind that the chronicle list of those were killed on the Vorskla in 1399 cannot always be treated as a reliable source: for example, Prince Fedor Patrikiovich, who is mentioned in the list, went into the service of the grand prince of Muscovy in 1408 and in 1420 was still his deputy in Velikii Novgorod.[57]

On the other hand, the presence of Ivan Hol'shans'kyi (who was listed, along with Skirgaila, in the princely *pom'ianyk* of the Liubets'k synodal book) in Kyiv is beyond doubt.[58] However, he is treated in the scholarly literature only as a vicegerent of the grand prince, even though there is not a single known source for this assertion. At the same time the hereditary nature of princely rule in Kyiv in the first third of the fifteenth century draws attention to itself. Ivan Hol'shans'kyi's successors were his sons Andrii (known as the "Kyiv prince") and Mykhailo (the Kyiv "capiteneus"). The high social status of the former is indicated by the fact that two of his daughters were married to Władysław II Jagiełło and the Moldovan *hospodar* Illia.

The Hol'shans'kyi family then left the political scene in the Kyiv land until the early sixteenth century (we overlook Ivan Iuriiovych Hol'shans'kyi's par-

ticipation in the "conspiracy of the princes," which had more far-reaching plans than the renewal of the Kyiv principality). Their place was taken by Ivan Volodymyrovych, the son of Volodymyr Ol'herdovych, who is mentioned in western Rus' chronicles as prince of Kyiv and participant in the battle of Vylkomyra in 1435.[59] The path to this reign was probably paved by his marriage to Vasylysa, the third daughter of Andrii Hol'shans'kyi. (Compare the later fact of the confirmation of Martin Gasztołd, the brother-in-law of Semen Olel'kovych.) Yet the reign in Kyiv was only a brief episode in Ivan Volodymyrovych's life. It is significant, however, that he, and not Olel'ko, was the first of Volodymyr Ol'herdovych's heirs to take up his father's throne.[60]

Going back to the Hol'shans'kyi family, it should be stressed that it ruled without interruption in Kyiv in the first third of the fifteenth century. A second Kyiv dynasty of Lithuanian origin was also established at this time. It is significant that both the Hol'shans'kyi family and the heirs of Volodymyr Ol'herdovych are listed in the Kyiv Caves Monastery *pom'ianyk* under the heading "Pom'iany, Hospody, kniazi nashikh velikykh."[61] Both are called Kyiv "patrimonies" in a Lithuanian account of the events of 1481.[62]

The appearance of the Hol'shans'kyis as palatines in Kyiv in the sixteenth century was only a faint echo of their former grandeur. Hence the attempt to raise their status by creating a genealogical legend in which their ancestors were princes of Kyiv since the establishment of Lithuanian rule. We have in mind the story of Gediminas's raid on Kyiv contained in the extended versions of western Rus' chronicles that were compiled in circles directly connected with the Hol'shans'kyi family.[63]

It is now time to give up both the interpretation of the Kyiv principality of the 1440s–1470s as "intermediary" and the mythologizing of it as a "second Ukrainian kingdom," which is based on a later literary tradition and not on contemporary sources.[64] And yet this tradition itself can also be investigated to the extent that documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries record reminiscences by Kyiv inhabitants. And although Maciej Stryjkowski distorted the facts when he ascribed to Mykhailo Hlyns'kyi a desire to reestablish the Kyiv principality, the idea of its reestablishment characterizes the mental context of the later sixteenth century and its idea of rebuilding ancient (upper) Kyiv (Iosyf Vereshchyns'kyi), which was implemented in the undertakings of Peter Mohyla.[65]

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Translated from the Ukrainian by Marco Carynnyk

NOTES

1. *Sinopsis, ili kratkoe sobranie ot razlichnykh letopistsev* (Kyiv, 1680), fol. 110v.

2. Kyiv was thus described in the mid-sixteenth century by Michalon Lithuanus (*Memuary, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi Rusi* [Kyiv, 1890], issue 1, p. 48). It may be noted that the mystical image of "golden-domed Kyiv" survived in Ukrainian culture until the twentieth century. See Omeljan Pritsak, "Kiev and All of Rus': The Fate of a Sacral Idea," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10(3/4) December 1986: 279–300.

3. Imperatorskaia Arkheograficheskaia komissiia, *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* (St. Petersburg, 1908), vol. 6, appendix 30, p. 180. *Kniga khozhenii: Zapiski russkikh puteshestvennikov XI-XV vv.* (Moscow, 1984), p. 120. *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi, magni ducis Lithuaniae.* In *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia,* vol. 6 (Cracow, 1992), p. 780. *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie.* In *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter PSRL) 35 (1980): 125. Vremennaia komissiia dlia razbora drevnikh aktov, *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Kyiv, 1859), pt. 1, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 2. As for the dating of this document, which is frequently considered to be authentic, see "Kievo-Pecherskaia Lavra v ee proshedshem i nyneshnem sostoianii," *Kievskaia starina* 1886 (10): 252–53; no. 11: 512.

4. Sebastian Kl'onovych, *Roksolaniia* (Kyiv, 1987), p. 71.

5. S. Kutrzeba and W. Semkowicz, *Akta unji Polski z Litwą, 1385–1791* (Cracow, 1932), no. 138, pp. 310, 312. (Polish and Latin versions of the Kyiv restitution privilege.) See also Jaroslaw Pelenski, "The Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands of Old Rus' into Crown Poland (1569): Socio-material Interest and Ideology—A Reexamination," in *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists* (The Hague, 1973), vol. 3, pp. 19–52.

6. It is significant that at the Diet of Lublin Lithuanian representatives defended their rights to Volhynia by arguing that "the Volhynian land is inhabitated only by Lithuanian and Rus' people and the princes Olel'kovyches, Narymuntovyches, and Korybutovyches." A. T. Działyński, ed., "Diariusz Lubelskiego sejmu unii. Rok 1569," *Zródłopisma do dziejów unii Korony Polskiej i W. X. Litewskiego,* vol. 3 (Poznań, 1856), p. 133.

7. *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii drevnei Rossii s derzhavami inostrannymi,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1851), p. 37.

8. *Akta unji*, no. 138, p. 313.

9. The term "Kyiv land" is used in the documents until the early seventeenth century, and "Kyiv palatinate" is first recorded only in 1533. G. V.

Boriak, "Administrativno-territorial'noe ustroistvo ukrainskikh zemel' v kontse XV–seredine XVI v.: Analiz dokumental'nykh istochnikov." Unpublished candidate (Ph.D.) dissertation (Kyiv, 1987), p. 79.

10. In this context Matthias Gruneweg's [Hruneveh] observation is worthy of attention. Having visited Kyiv in 1584, he noted in his memoirs: "The Rusyns know what a powerful city Kyiv was and that it was the capital of their princes." See Ia. D. Isaievych, "Nove dzherelo pro istorychnu topohrafiiu ta arkhitekturni pam'iatky starodavn'oho Kyieva," in *Kyïvs'ka Rus': Kul'tura, tradytsiï* (Kyiv, 1982), p. 118.

11. See, for example, V. T. Pashuto, B. N. Floria, and A. L. Khoroshkevich, *Drevnerusskoe nasledie i istoricheskie sud'by vostochnogo slavianstva* (Moscow, 1982), p. 71n5 (Roman-Olizar Volchkevych, the Kyiv palatine in the mid-fifteenth century, is examined as a representative of the princely tradition); N. M. Iakovenko, *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta z kintsia XIV do seredyny XVII st. (Volyn' i Tsentral'na Ukraïna)* (Kyiv, 1993), pp. 322, 324 (Ol'hymunt Hol'shans'kyi, the supposed Kyiv deputy in the 1420s, despite the evidence of the Kyiv Caves Monastery *pom'ianyk*, appears as Borys, an identification based on an incorrect identification of his son Ivan with Prince Ivan Borysovych of Kyiv).

12. M. S. Hrushevs'kyi [Grushevskii], *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli ot smerti Iaroslava do kontsa XIV stoletiia* (Kyiv, 1891), pp. 442, 445–48. See also his *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy,* vol. 3 (Lviv, 1905). Before 1340, pp. 167–71, 176. The Muscovite rulers' patrimonial theory was based on precisely such notions. It is strange that the specialist literature has still not drawn attention to the textual dependence of Ivan III's territorial claims ("Вся Русская земля, Киев, и Смоленск, и иные городы, которые он [Oleksandr Kazymyrovych] за собою держи к Литовскои земле, з Божьею волею, из старины, от наших прародителеи наша отчина"; "а их отчина—Лятская земля да Литовская" (1504) *Sbornik imperatorskogo Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, St. Petersburg, 1892, 35: 460; cf. ibid., St. Petersburg, 1884, 41: 457) on the chronicle account of the conflict between the Smolensk Rostislavovichi (descendants, along with the Muscovite princes, of Volodymyr Monomakh) and the Chernihiv Ol'hovyches, in which the former demanded that the latter "не искати отчини нашея Києва и Смоленьска под нами, и под нашими детми, и подо всим нашим Володимерим племенем," while the latter defended Kyiv's traditional status as the common patrimony and insisted that they were "не сугре, ни ляхове, но єдиного деда есми вноуци" (1195) *Ipat'ievskaia letopis'*, PSRL, Moscow, 1962, 2: 688–89. Cf. p. 578 ("Я не оугрин, ни лях, но одиного деда есми вноуци, а колко тобе до него [Kyiv], только и мне") *Lavrent'ievskaia letopis'*, PSRL (Moscow, 1962), 1: 329 ("Мне отчини нету в Вугрех, ни в Лясе[х], токмо в Русстеи земли"). This point

should be taken into account in deciding how innovative Muscovite foreign policy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was. Cf. K. V. Bazilevich, *Vneshnaia politika Russkogo tsentralizovanogo gosudarstva: Vtoraia polovina XV veka* (Moscow, 1952), pp. 509, 540–41; B. N. Floria, *Russko-pol'skie otnosheniia i politicheskoe razvitie Vostochnoi Evropy vo vtoroi polovine XVI–nachale XVII v.* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 17–18.

13. John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304* (London and New York, 1983), p. 109.

14. O. P. Tolochko, "Koly perestala isnuvaty 'Kyïvs'ka Rus'"?: Istoriohrafichna dolia odnoho terminu i poniattia," *Kyïvs'ka starovyna* 1992 (6): 15. See also G. Iu. Ivakin, *Kiev v XIII–XV vekakh* (Kyiv, 1982), p. 19.

15. *Gustinskaia letopis'*, PSRL 2 (1843): 343, 344.

16. Ibid., p. 348.

17. V. I. Staviskii, "'Kievskoe kniazhenie' v politike Zolotoi Ordy (pervaia chetvert' XIV v.," in *Vneshnaia politika Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1988), p. 99.

18. Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk*, p. 441; idem, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, p. 167.

19. A. B. Presniakov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii,* vol. 2 (Moscow, 1939), issue 1: *Zapadnaia Rus' i Litovsko-Russkoe gosudarstva*, p. 20.

20. Published in *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi: XIII vek* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 228–35. The reign of Ivan Shain, who was "established by Batu Khan as sovereign in Chernihiv" and in 1257 went into the service of Oleg Ingvarovich of Riazan, can be seen as an analogy to this sad fact. However, the letters patent of the latter, in which this is discussed, are preserved only in a confirmation by Ivan IV in an eighteenth-century copy published in *Akty sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi kontsa XIV–nachala XVI v.* (Moscow, 1964), 3: no. 347, p. 373, and are now not considered authentic by specialists. See V. B. Kobrin, *Vlast' i sobstvennost' v srednevekovoi Rossii XV–XVI vv.* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 220–22; A. A. Zimin, *Formirovanie boiarskoi aristokratii v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XV–pervoi treti XVI v.* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 267, 279–80.

21. A. P. Tolochko, *Kniaz' v Drevnei Rusi: Vlast', sobstvennost', ideologiia* (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 77–78.

22. *Puteshestviia v vostochnye strany Plano Karpini i Rubruka* (Moscow, 1957), pp. 67–68.

23. N. D. Kvashnin-Samarin, "Po povodu Liubetskogo sinodika," in *Chteniia v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 1873(4): 222. It should be noted that Kvashnin-Samarin was the first researcher

who concluded that "the last [autochronous] princes of Kyiv were Ol'hovyches" (ibid). Filaret, *Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisanie Chernigovskoi eparkhii*, book 5 (Chernihiv, 1874), p. 43n61.

24. M. K. Liubavskii, *Oblastnoe delenie i mestnoe upravlenie Litvosko-Russkogo gosudarstva ko vremeni izdaniia Pervogo Litovskogo Statuta* (Moscow, 1892), pp. 245–46.

25. F. Petrun', "Khans'ki iarlyky na ukraïns'kii zemli: Do pytannia pro tatars'ku Ukraïnu," *Skhidnyi svit* 1928 (2): 176.

26. P. G. Klepatskii, *Ocherki po istorii Kievskoi zemli* (Odesa, 1912), vol. 1: *Litovskii period*, pp. 39–41.

27. A. Poppe, "Stanovlenie pochitaniia Vladimira Velikogo," in *Spornye voprosy otechestvennoi istorii XI–XVIII vekov: Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenii Pervykh chtenii, posviashchennykh pamiati A. A. Zimina* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 230–31.

28. Klepatskii, *Ocherki*, pp. 34–39. A. Prochaska, "Czy mozliwą jest identyczność kniaziów Nieswieskich s Korybutowiczami?" *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* 1912 (5): 92n1.

29. See also O. V. Rusyna, "Do pytannia pro kyïvs'kykh kniaziv tatars'koï doby," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. T. Shevchenka*, 225 (1993): 200–202.

30. *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, p. 870.

31. It is worth mentioning that Hrushevs'kyi "in theory" did not exclude the possibility that Kyiv was dependent on the principality of Galicia-Volhynia in the first half of the fourteenth century, although he did observe that "there are no grounds [in the sources] for this, and the entire Galician-Volhynian policy of that time, to the extent that we can have an idea of it, was directed to the West" (*Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, p. 168). Compare Staviskii, "'Kievskoe kniazhenie,'" pp. 97–98.

32. *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), p. 344; *Novgorodskaia chetvertaia letopis'*, PSRL 4 (1848): 52; *Sofiiskaia pervaia letopis'*, PSRL 5 (1851): 219; *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod kontsa XV veka*, PSRL 25 (1949): 170.

33. R. V. Zotov, *O chernigovskikh kniaz'iakh po Liubetskomy sinodiku i o Chernigovskom kniazhestve v tatarskoe vremia* (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. 115–16; 118–19. The "Ioann and Mariia" in the Kyiv synodal book (who so disconcerted Hrushevs'kyi, see his *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, p. 172n2) are Ioann Dmytrovych Pereiaslavs'kyi and his wife Mariia in the Liubetsk synodal book (no. 48 in Zotov); hence "Andrii, Fedir" are Andrii Vsevolodovych and his son Fedir (no. 49), and "Ioann" is Ioann of Putyvl' (no. 50).

34. S. T. Golubev, "Drevnii pomiannik Kievo-Pecherskoi Lavry (kontsa XV i nachala XVI stoletiia," *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-letopistsa* 6(3) 1892: 6.

35. M. S. Hrushevs'kyi, review of *O chernigovskikh kniaz'iakh*, by R. V. Zotov, *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 5(1) 1895: bibliography, pp. 13–15; Hrushevs'kyi, *Ocherk*, p. 449n3; idem, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 172n2.

36. M. D. Priselkov and M. R. Fasmer, "Otryvki V. N. Beneshevicha po istorii russkoi tserkvi XIV veka," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoi Akademii nauk. 1916 g.* 21(1) 1916: 48–70.

37. See Olena V. Rusyna, "Hedyminiv pokhid na Kyïvs'ku zemliu: Povertaiuchys' do problemy," forthcoming in *Seredn'ovichna Ukraïna*.

38. Cf., for example, *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 98 ("brat Gediminov, kniazia litov'skoho, Voini, polotskyi kniaz'").

39. A. I. Rogov, *Russko-pol'skie kul'turnye sviazi v epokhu Vozrozhdeniia: Stryikovskii i ego khronika* (Moscow, 1966), p. 156; R. K. Batura, *Bor'ba Litovskogo velikogo kniazhestva protiv Zolotoi Ordy: Ot nashestviia polchishch Batu do bitvy u Sinikh Vod*, pp. 20–21; idem, *Lietuva tautu kovoje prieš Aukso Ordą: Nuo Batu antpludžio iki mušio prie Mėlynuju Vandenu* (Vilnius, 1975), pp. 176, 210, 378; Okhman'skii, "Gediminovichi—'pravnuki Skolomendovy,'" in *Pol'sha i Rus': Cherty obshchnosti i svoeobraziia v istoricheskoi razvitii Rusi i Pol'shi XII–XIV vv. Sbornik statei*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1974), pp. 358, 362, 363; F. M. Shabul'do, "Vkliuchennia Kyïvs'koho kniazivstva do skladu Lytovs'koï derzhavy u druhii polovyni XIV st.," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1973 (6): 82; idem, "Administratyvno-pravove stanovyshche Kyieva XIII–XV st," in *Kataloh dokumentiv z istoriï Kyieva XV–XIX st.* (Kyiv, 1982), 26–27; idem, "Pro pochatok pryiednannia Velykym kniazivstvom Lytovs'kym zemel' Pivdenno-Zakhidnoï Rusi," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1984 (6): 44–46; idem, *Zemli Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v sostave Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo* (Kyiv, 1987), pp. 26–31; L. L. Murav'eva, *Letopisanie Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi kontsa XIII–nachala XV veka* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 243–44; T. M. Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386–1434)*, vol. 1 (Wrocław, 1983), p. 40; E. Gudavichius, *Feodalizm v Baltiiskom regione* (Riga, 1985), p. 39; V. I. Staviskii, "'Kievskoe kniazhenie' v politike Zolotoi Ordy (pervaia chetvert' XIV veka)," in *Vneshnaia politika Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 98–99; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce: Studia z dziejów XIII–XVIII w.* (Warsaw, 1989), p. 113; A. P. Nikzhentaitis, "Legenda XIV v. o muchenichestve 14 frantiskantsev v Vilniuse i istoricheskaia istina," in

Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny (Leningrad) 21 (1990): 258; Iakovenko, *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta*, p. 84.

40. It is also obvious that the separation of Kyiv into a separate fiscal and administrative district (*t'ma*) and the establishment of its own princely dynasty were key moments in the formation of the Kyiv land as a unitary political and administrative unit, as it was in the Lithuanian period. The term "Kyiv land" is also of late origin: it is not recorded in the Old Rus′ macrotoponymy (see *Etymolohichnyi slovnyk litopysnykh heohrafichnykh nazv Pivdennoï Rusi* (Kyiv, 1985), p. 80), and even in fourteenth-century sources its appearance is doubtless correlated with the disappearance of the term "Rus′ land" in its narrowest senses (as a name for the Middle Dnieper region and for the Kyiv region proper).

41. He is called Fedir in the Hustynia Chronicle (p. 350), but this is probably yet another arbitrary combination by the compiler.

42. Klepatskii, *Ocherki*, pp. 171–72.

43. The most recent publication is *Hramoty XIV st.* (Kyiv, 1974), no. 18, p. 37.

44. Iakovenko, *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta*, p. 166; O. Andriiashev, "Narys istoriï kolonizatsiï Sivers′koï zemli do pochatku XVI viku," *Zapysky istoryko-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 20 (1928): 126–27.

45. For the oldest copy see NPL, pp. 475–76. B. A. Rybakov, "Prosveshchenie," *Ocherki russkoi kul'tury XIII–XV vekov*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1970), p. 203; idem, *Kievskaia Rus' i russkie kniazhestva XII–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982), p. 60; Beliaeva, *Iuzhno-russkie zemli vo vtoroi polovine XIII–XIV vv.* (Kyiv, 1982), pp. 19, 40; G. Iu. Ivakin, *Kiev v XIII–XV vekakh* (Kyiv, 1982), p. 37; Shabul′do, *Zemli Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi*, p. 83; N. M. Iakovenko, "Volodymyr Ol′herdovych." In *Istoriia Ukraïny v osobakh: IX–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1993), p. 145.

46. V. B. Antonovich, *Monografii po istorii Zapadnoi i Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1885), p. 55; N. P. Dashkevich, *Zametki po istorii Litovsko-Russkogo gosudarstva* (Kyiv, 1885), p. 49; Hrushevs′kyi, *Ocherk*, pp. 17, 51; Klepatskii, *Ocherki*, pp. 351–52, 401.

47. M. N. Tikhomirov, "'Spisok russkikh gorodov dal′nikh i blizhnikh,'" *Istoricheskie zapiski* 40 (1952): 214–59. Reprint: M. N. Tikhomirov, *Russkoe letopisanie* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 83–137.

48. See A. Poppe, "Gród Wołyń," *Studia wczesnoźredniowieczne* 4 (1959).

49. Liubavskii, *Oblastnoe delenie*, p. 221; Iakovenko, "Volodymyr Ol′herdovych," p. 90.

50. The attempt to support the hypothesis about the political unity of these lands in the late fourteenth century by reference to the region in which Volodymyr Ol′herdovych's coins circulated is pointless (Beliava,

Iuzhno-russkie, p. 103). H. A. Kozubovs'kyi's position in this respect is more balanced, although he too has not resisted the temptation to connect the discovery of coins in the southern Chernihiv region with its allegiance to Volodymyr's "state" ("Kyïvs'ke kniazivstvo pry Volodymyri Ol'herdovychi za pam'iatkamy numizmatyky," *Starozhytnosti Pivdennoï Rusi* (Chernihiv, 1993), p. 136.

51. *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii* vol. 2, pt. 6, p. 4. The parallelisms in the Tatar edicts and the list are even more striking in the case of Podolia, which in our opinion justifies questions about the textual interrelations between these documents. Until now these parallelisms have been studied only in order to crosscheck the historical and geographical information that they contain.

52. Andriiashev, "Narys istoriï kolonizatsiï Pereiaslavs'koï zemli," p. 22. The Old Rus' data in the list, which originate in chronicles, require special analysis, but there is no doubt that some of the toponyms mentioned in it are of bookish origin. We have here, for example, "Rostovets', Uneiatin," which is an incorrect reading of the chronicle fragment "Voevasha polovtsi u Rostovtsa i u Neiatina" (*Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, p. 164).

53. At the same time is hardly correct to view the events of 1394 as a punishment of Volodymyr Ol'herdovych for his supposed alliance with Dmitrii Ivanovich (Donskoi), the Grand Prince of Moscow, in 1379–1380 (F. M. Shabul'do, "Kyïvs'ke kniazivstvo Ol'herdovychiv v konteksti ukraïns'koï derzhavnosti," *Starozhytnosti* 1994 [1–2]: 7), since the hypothesis that such an alliance existed (see Shabul'do, *Zemli Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi*, p. 129–31) is not grounded in sources or convincing.

54. F. I. Leontovich, *Soslovnyi tip territorial'no-administrativnogo sostava Litovskogo gosudarstva i ego prichiny* (St. Petersburg, 1895), p. 30.

55. *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie*, pp. 65, 72, 102, and others.

56. *Novgorodskaia chetvertaia letopis'*, p. 104; *Sofiiskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 251.

57. *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 413; Zimin, *Formirovanie boiarskoi aristokratii*, pp. 29–30.

58. Zotov, *O chernigovskikh kniaz'iakh*, pp. 28, 153–54.

59. *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie*, pp. 35, 58, 77, and others.

60. The question whether Olel'ko may have reigned briefly in Kyiv before 1440 requires special study. Klepatskii (*Ocherki*, pp. 42–43) cited his deed to St. Nicholas' Dominican nunnery in Kyiv in 1411, known only from an excerpt in the Lviv castle books [*hrods'ki knyhy*] included in Jan-Casimir's privilege on 25 January 1649. This circumstance prevents a thorough analysis of the document, although it does not appear to be a counterfeit. Unfortunately, in recent decades scholars have ignored it to

the extent that even T. Trajdos believes that it was never published (except for a mention in the register of oblates at the Lviv Bernardyn archives. *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej,* vol. 10 (Lviv, 1984), p. 3n40. See T. M. Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki,* vol. 1, p. 53n79. In fact, the deed was published twice in Latin (Evgenii [Bolkhovitinov], *Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskogo sobora i kievskoi ierarkhii,* appendix 5 (Kyiv, 1825), pp. 16–17; *Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva i ego okrestnostei,* pt. 3, no. 1 (Kyiv, 1874), pp. 3–4) and also in a later, sixteenth– or seventeenth–century translation (*Ukraïns'ki hramoty XV st.* (Kyiv, 1965), no. 1, pp. 25–26). After the publication of Trajdos' study J. Ochmański partially published the document, which confirms Volodymyr Ol'herdovych's and Vytautas's grant (J. Ochmański, *Vitoldiana: Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi, magni ducis Lithuaniae, 1386–1430* (Warsaw-Poznań, 1986), no. 15, pp. 21–22).

61. *Drevnii pomiannik,* pp. 6–7.

62. *Sofiiskie letopisi,* PSRL 6 (1853): 233.

63. *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie,* pp. 95–96, 152–53, and others; *Khronika Bykhovtsa,* PSRL 32 (1975): 136–37. V. A. Chamiarytski, *Belaruskiia letapisy iak pomniki litaratury* (Minsk, 1969), p. 155; M. A. Iuchas, "Khronika Bykhovtsa," in *Letopisi i khroniki: 1973* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 225, 230–31; N. N. Ulashchik, *Vvedenie v izuchenie belorussko-litovskogo letopisaniia* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 160–61.

64. The term "intermediary" was suggested by M. V. Dovnar-Zapol'skii in *Ukrainskie starostva v pervoi polovine XVI v.* (Kyiv, 1907), p. 3. M. Iu. Braichevs'kyi, "Konspekt istoriï Ukraïny," *Starozhytnosti,* 1991, no. 10: 10. The distance between them in the context of the Kyiv principality's history is illustrated by the testament of Olel'ko's palatine, Roman Olizarovych Volkevych (published in *Ukraïns'ki hramoty XV st.,* no. 2, pp. 26–29), who was tranformed by later copyists into the "*hospodar* of the Kyiv lands." See N. M. Iakovenko, "Ukraïna arystokratychna," in *Na perelomi: Druha polovyna XV–persha polovyna XVI st.* (Kyiv, 1994), pp. 340–41.

65. See also M. M. Krom, "Pravoslavnye kniaz'ia v Velikom kniazhestve Litovskom v nachale XVI veka: K voprosu o sotsial'noi base vosstaniia Glinskikh," *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1992 (4): 151.

Canon Law as a Field for Ecclesiastical Debate: The Sixteenth-Century *Kormchaia* of Vassian Patrikeev*

ANDREI I. PLIGUZOV

> On the basis of his reading [Vassian Patrikeev] was able to step to the defense of the Non-Possessors . . . He disputed the view that the saints who had founded monasteries had owned villages on the lands surrounding the monasteries . . . Sometime after Iosif [Volotskii]'s death in 1515, Vassian began work on a new edition of the *Kormchaia Kniga* (The Book of the Pilot), the Russian version of the Greek Nomocanon, canon law of the Orthodox Church. His aims were strictly polemical: by arranging material thematically rather than chronologically and by excluding material that did not assist his argument, he was able to demonstrate that canon law did not support monastic property-owning.
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> Faith C. M. Kitch, "Patrikeev, Vassian," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. J. L. Wieczynski, vol. 27 (Gulf Breeze, Fl. 1982), pp. 60–62.

The institutional structure of the Eastern Slavic Orthodox Church resisted any systematic reforms until the early eighteenth century. Before that time, all discussions of change within the Church were necessarily based on very traditional arguments. Such discussions were not generally carried out in the realm of canon law until the early sixteenth century, in as much as the tradition of church law was poorly developed. In this way, canon law was not applied to contemporary disputes. Nevertheless, as discussions about how to organize the church increased, ecclesiastical debate gradually became dependent on canon law in the search for an authoritative source. By the early sixteenth century, a sharp dispute had appeared which was ideally suited for debate on the grounds of canon law. Those within the Rus′ church known as the "non-possessors" opposed the burgeoning wealth and property of monasteries and called for a poor church. They took issue with the position of Iosif Volotskii and the "possessors," who condoned monastic land ownership. Significant among the "non-possessors" of this period was the monk Vassian Patrikeev (died after 1532), who spent almost fifteen years compiling and editing his own redaction of a canon law compendium.

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Outline of the Historiography

Historians of the non-possessors have often neglected this canon law compendium, the *Kormchaia* book (literally, "Pilot book") of Vassian Patrikeev. Although the composition of Vassian's redaction is unusual for a *Kormchaia* edition, it is difficult to judge precisely how it differs from the others, since the other unconventional collections have not been fully analyzed. A. S. Pavlov (1871) asserted that a Serbian redaction (see below) was the original source from which Vassian compiled his own edition, but Pavlov's work does not properly justify his idea.[1] Without presenting any textual evidence, N. S. Suvorov (1889) claimed that Vassian's sources were a Russian redaction together with the text of a Greek New-Athos Nomocanon.[2] V. N. Beneshevich's later studies of the *Kormchaia* (1905) made it possible to properly analyze how Vassian's redaction was composed. Despite this fact, Iu. K. Begunov (1956) did not pay attention to Beneshevich's book. In his comparative analysis of the *Kormchaia*s of Ivan Volk Kuritsyn and Vassian Patrikeev, he relied instead on the rather outdated course on canon law published by M. A. Ostroumov (1893).[3] Enthralled by Ostroumov's conclusions, Begunov acknowledged that a redaction of a tenth-century Greek manuscript existed, which, according to Begunov, gave rise to the collections of Kuritsyn and Patrikeev.[4] The collection of canons in this Greek edition, according to Ostroumov, must have contained the texts of canons without *scholia*, organized in the order which the Collection of Fourteen Titles provides.

Begunov based his hypothesis on his knowledge on the Greek manuscript published by Cardinal Angelo Mai.[5] This edition was later reprinted by J. Migne.[6] Both G. Bikkell and then J. Pitra, however, raised questions about the credibility of this edition as early as 1844. Their works cast doubt not only on the soundness of Mai's commentary, but also upon the very existence of the manuscript which Mai's redaction claimed to reproduce. In fact, if the source manuscript is Vatican (Vat.) 2184, then it has the Collection of Fourteen Titles, and separately the compilation of canons. Thus it can be assumed that Mai published his own reconstruction of the canonical compendium under the guise that he was simply reproducing the tenth-century manuscript.[7] Whatever the judgment on Mai's edition, his text resembles that of the *Kormchaia*s of Kuritsyn and Patrikeev. This close similarity between redactions may in fact be attributed to the independent influence of the traditional Collection of Fourteen Titles, as well as the traditional arrangement of canons to agree with the Collection usually found in the Russian *Kormchaia* redactions. Begunov attributes special importance to such similarity in structure between editions, even though other compendiums exist (e.g., Vat. 1142, the collection noted by Beneshevich) which share a similar arrangement but are not related to the redactions in our discussion.

Begunov's article, unfortunately, did not help Kazakova and Zuzek to clearly understand the issues surrounding Vassian's redaction. In fact, it cre-

ated some confusion and hindered their understanding. Kazakova, at variance with the facts, adopted Begunov's principal thesis, which claimed there was an essential genealogical similarity between Vassian's compilation and that of Ivan Volk. She merely criticized Begunov for not comparing these two versions with "the Greek books of canon law in systematic redaction, which served as a prototype for the Russian books of canon law belonging to the same redaction."[8] Kazakova's conclusions about the sources for Vassian's *Kormchaia* also rely on Begunov's observations. This explains why Kazakova did not find the second part—the book of Photius—in the incomplete Piskarev *Kormchaia* manuscript (which, in fact, only lacks an appendix). She takes her lead from Begunov, who adopted the mistaken terminology of Mai (who had called the published text the "second part" of Photius' treatise). What is more, Kazakova failed to recognize the judicial compilation held by the Vladimir-Suzdal' museum as the book produced by Vassian Patrikeev—after making only a "brief examination" of the *Kormchaia* manuscript at the Vladimir-Suzdal' museum—and in this way greatly restricted the scope of her sources.

Using the remarks of Ia. N. Shchapov, E. V. Beliakova has dispelled much of the confusion regarding the authorship of the Kuritsyn compilation. As it turns out, the manuscript belonging to him (RGB, MDA 187), as well as those similar to it (RGADA, Mazurin 534; GIM, Chudov 168 and Uvarov 557), stem from the Bulgarian compilation of a Serbian *Kormchaia* redaction dating from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries. In a 1986 unpublished article, Beliakova declined Begunov's suggestion that Vassian's *Kormchaia* is related to the Bulgarian compilation. She considered in detail Begunov's more substantial hypothesis, which posits mutual influences between Vassian's *Kormchaia* and the manuscript RGB, Rumiantsev 236. She has also reminded us of the type of classification of the untraditional canon-law compilations (i.e., those which do not belong to any of the studied and well-defined books of canon law: the Early Slavic, Russian, and Serbian redactions) given by Beneshevich as early as 1905.

Extant Manuscript Sources

The four surviving manuscripts of Vassian's *Kormchaia*—(1) RGB, Piskarev 39 (cited below as "P"); (2) RGADA, fond 181, opis' 1, no. 1597 (cited as "A"); (3) RNB, F.II.74 ("T"); and (4) Vladimir-Suzdal' museum V 5636/399 ("S")—differ in their content and reflect the various stages of work on the compendium. Such differences can be seen from analysis of one of the articles, the "Collection of a Certain Elder."[9] But before distinguishing between the various types and versions exemplified by the surviving codices, it is necessary to more precisely define the terminology.

The surviving manuscripts of *Kormchaia* could be divided into three types prevalent in Russia—Early Slavic, Serbian, and Russian. These compilations include (1) the "Collection (Index) of Fourteen Titles"; (2) the canons of the

Ecumenical and local Church councils, pronouncements of the Church Fathers, and excerpts from Byzantine secular law; and (3) an appendix and additional articles of later origin. Beneshevich has proposed that the different versions of the Collection of Fourteen Titles be distinguished from each other. In his formulation, the Syntagma is a Collection of Fourteen Titles which discusses individual themes at length but omits corresponding numbers of canons. The Nomocanon is the collection including references to particular rulings. The Synagogue is the collection which contains all rules related to the sections (*grani*) and chapters (*glavy*). This Synagogue collection holds material arranged systematically, and was influenced by the thematic compilations widespread in the Byzantine Empire after *Codex Justinianus* and the *Synagogue* of John the Scholastic in the sixth century.[10]

The Structure of Vassian's Original Redaction

Vassian's *Kormchaia* in codex P is, in fact, a double Collection of Fourteen Titles: it first copies the Syntagma and then the Synagogue version. A code of laws is followed by selected rules of the Church Fathers, followed, in turn, by Vassian's "Collection of a Certain Elder." This "Collection" is a peculiar sort of adjunct to the *Kormchaia* containing a canonical Syntagma within its text. This inner Syntagma, however, covers only those subjects from the Collection of Fourteen Titles which pertain to monastic regulations. Codex P does not preserve the purity of the genre of canonical compilations. The Syntagma of codex P has preserved the remains of a Collection of Fourteen Titles from which it was copied (see section I, chapter 24, 36; section XII, chapter 19, 33). More remains of the Collection appear in the Syntagma in codex A, codex T, and especially in codex S, as the Syntagma, over several redactions, gradually begins to resemble a Nomocanon. On the other hand, the Synagogue of canons contains various references to numbers of canons which are fully laid out in different parts of the *Kormchaia*. In this way the Synagogue also resembles a Nomocanon.

The structural solution on which Vassian's *Kormchaia* is based, namely, the doubling of the Collection of Fourteen Titles, is rare for canonical books. A gathering of canons into a Synagogue, however, has occurred many times (e.g., a similar Greek Nomocanon has been preserved in the Vatoped monastery, where Maksim Grek was once a brother). The only other *Kormchaia* which resembles that of Vassian is a compendium from the second half of sixteenth century. This version is most likely of south Russian origin (as noted by Begunov). Nevertheless, all four manuscripts of Vassian's *Kormchaia* were compiled independently of Rumiantsev 236, or of any of its parent manuscripts. While both Vassian's manuscript and Rumiantsev 236 contained many innovations, none of them were identical or related. For example, codex 236 does not reflect the remains of the Collection of Fourteen Titles, which one could find in Vassian's *Kormchaia*.

Our observations corroborate the opinions of contemporary witnesses that were recorded in the documents of the 1531 trial.[11] It seems, indeed, that the *Kormchaia* which Vassian deposited in the princely treasury was compiled *by him*, on the basis of the traditional redactions.

Having determined the origin of Vassian's *Kormchaia*, one would wonder what kinds of sources Vassian used. Below, the Syntagma, copied from the Nomocanon of traditional redaction, is compared with the indexes of the *Kormchaia*s.

1. Early Slavic redaction (GIM, Sinodal'noe 227, dated from the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, published by Beneshevich;[12] RGB, Rogozhskoe 268, from the third quarter of the fifteenth century; and RGB, Troitskoe 207, dated to the end of the fifteenth century);

2. Russian redaction (see copy from 1280-GIM, Sinodalnoe 132,[13] copy from the first half of the sixteenth century—RGB, Rogozhskoe 256; copy from 1567—RGB, Egorov 931; copy from the early seventeenth century—RGB, Rumiantsev 235);

3. Serbian redaction (see copy from 1284, RNB F.p.II.1, published by I.I. Sreznevskii;[14] printed *Kormchaia*, 1649–1653; manuscript copies—RGB, Muzeinoe 4843, from the middle of the fifteenth century; RGB, Rumiantsev 232, from the 1480s; RGB, Rogozhskoe 252, from the 1550s.

The Collections of Fourteen Titles in these redactions commonly originate from a Greek collection dating from A.D. 861–879,[15] but the collections of the Early Slavic and Serbian *Kormchaia* were translated quite independently of each other—the Early Slavic in tenth-century Bulgaria and the Serbian at the beginning of the thirteenth century in Serbia. The collection of the *Kormchaia* of Russian redaction originated in the third quarter of the thirteenth century in Muscovy as a result of a collation of the two previous translations.[16]

The Syntagma of Vassian's *Kormchaia* is based on the Collection of Fourteen Titles of a Serbian redaction. Accordingly, chapter 1, section I has the words "i o kreshcheniiakh" (absent from the Early Slavic and Russian redactions). Chapter 4 contains the phrase "i o likhomstve" (also absent from the Early Slavic and Russian redactions). Select chapters, nevertheless, reproduce the reading of the Early Slavic redaction of the collection: chapters 6 and 7 of section X as well as chapter 5, section XIV correspond to the same chapters of the Early Slavic *Kormchaia*, while chapters 8 and 11 of section XII correspond to chapters 10 and 14 of section XII of the early version. Chapters 3, 5, 6, 8–10, section XI, and chapter 7, section XII reproduce the same chapters in the *Kormchaia* in its Russian redaction.

The Synagogue of Vassian's *Kormchaia* is a combination, in unequal degrees, of the three redactions of the traditional *Kormchaia*, with predominant use of the Russian version. Thus, in section X (fols. 300^{v}–308^{v}, codex P) from the Russian *Kormchaia* are borrowed: canon 26 of the fourth Ecumenical

council, apostolic canons 11, 38, and 41 from the sixth Ecumenical council, canons 24 and 25 of the Antiochene council, canon 15 of the council of Ancyra, canon 12 of the seventh council (the text mistakenly calls it canon 2), canon 32 of the council of Carthage, canon 22 of the fourth council, and canon 22 and 81 of the council of Carthage. At the same time, the passages of canon 7 of the council of 869–870 and canon 27 of the fourth Ecumenical council are identical in the Russian and Serbian *Kormchaias*; hence, it cannot be determined from where the compiler borrowed them. The synoptic passage of canon 82 of the council of Carthage is evidently taken from the Serbian *Kormchaia*, while the reference to canon 27 of the fourth Ecumenical council in Chapter 7 could only be obtained from the Early Slavic *Kormchaia*.

Chapters 12–15 of Section XII (fols. 340–345^v, codex P) are based to a large extent on the Serbian *Kormchaia*: canon 8 of the first Ecumenical council is given as in the Russian *Kormchaia*, its gloss borrowed from the Serbian redaction, canon 47 of the council of Carthage—according to the Russian *Kormchaia*, while Carthaginian canons 57, 66, 82, 99, and 107 all come from the Serbian *Kormchaia*. From it Vassian also extracted rule 31 of Athanasius of Alexandria, which is an excerpt from a letter to Ruphinus.[17] One can determine rather precisely which Serbian *Kormchaia* Vassian worked with in his cell—it was an East Slavic version of the Serbian *Kormchaia*, for the East Slavic version is the only one containing an anonymous *scholium* (c. 1400 A.D.) on canon 71 of the council of Carthage (canon 73 according to Beveregius, canon 81 in Rallis and Potlis).[18]

It is therefore clear that the Syntagma and Synagogue of codex P were created out of the material of at least three *Kormchaia* books—Early Slavic, Serbian, and Russian. In particular, the Syntagma uses predominantly the Collection of Fourteen Titles of Serbian redaction, while the Synagogue for the most part is based on the Russian redaction of the canonical collection.

The second and third kinds of Synagogues contain references to a new source, which Vassian worked from—a Greek Nomocanon imported to Muscovy in 1410 by Metropolitan Photius and kept in the Cathedral of the Dormition.[19]

How do the Slavic sources listed above compare with his own direct indications? Codex P contains references to "Sophian parchment rules of Great Novgorod" (fols. 144, 416), in which canon 75 of the fourth Ecumenical council and the "story of the black-habit order" of Cyril of Turań are copied. The title of codex P and the textual agreement prove that Vassian was working with a Novgorodian *Kormchaia* dating from A. D. 1280, which was brought from Novgorod in 1480 or 1504 to Prince Vasilii III's treasury,[20] and which was transferred to newly-appointed archbishop Makarii no later than July 25, 1525, at which point it was returned to the Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod.[21]

Manuscripts A and T contain two more Slavic codices: the Simonov monastery rules and a *Kormchaia* belonging to Vassian Sanin and brought from Mount Athos by Savva (probably of Vishera). Both of these manuscripts have

been lost, or at least have not yet been found among the manuscripts of canon law books. Codex S tells of another source of Vassian's compendium—the Suzdal' rules of Evfimii, bishop of Briansk, who fled to Muscovy from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania between September and the beginning of November 1464.[22] Shchapov has tentatively identified some copies made from this Serbian *Kormchaia* in the manuscripts of its sub-branch—the Danilovskii group (GIM, Barsov 157, Voskreschskoe 28; RNB, Pogodin 242).[23] Selective comparison of these manuscripts does not provide any ground for singling out any one of the above-mentioned codices as the source for Vassian's *Kormchaia*. Therefore, other manuscripts of the East Slavic version of the Serbian *Kormchaia* were also drawn upon for comparison (we note the similarity of the "non-possessors'" compendium to codex RGB, Muzeinoe 4843, from the middle of the fifteenth century).

Gradual Development In Manuscript Redactions

It is unlikely that the Russian *Kormchaia* that served as a basis for Vassian's Synagogue should be identified with the Sophian rules of 1280, because their availability was limited, the codex being in Vasilii III's treasury, and because the titles of Vassian's articles copied from these rules were specifically marked as such. Of the two remaining alternatives for the source of Vassian's "Russian rules," one is inclined to favor the Nomocanon of the Simonov monastery. Indeed, it is improbable that Savva's *Kormchaia* would turn out to be of Russian redaction: it was brought at the end of the fourteenth century from Mount Athos, where one was more likely to find an Early Slavic version. Moreover, it would be surprising if Savva Visherskii had tried to deliver to Muscovy a *Kormchaia* of Russian redaction. Begunov considered Savva's collection to be a Slavic translation of a tenth-century Greek Nomocanon of the Synagogue type.[24] Savva's Synagogue, however, did not find a reflection in Russian manuscripts, above all in the "non-possessors'" collection. It is therefore reasonable to think that Savva's *Kormchaia* was of Early Slavic redaction.

Vassian's indications and our analysis of his *Kormchaia* can be reconciled in the following way. Vassian used a *Kormchaia* of Russian redaction kept in the library of Simonov monastery (it had belonged previously to a Simonov archimandrite, and then, from 1505 to 1515, to Vassian Sanin, archbishop of Rostov). Vassian also used a Serbian *Kormchaia*, belonging to the manuscript tradition of the Nomocanon of Evfimii of Briansk, and also the Early Slavic *Kormchaia* of Savva of Vishera.

The number of *Kormchaias* used from time to time by Vassian is by no means restricted to these two—the Sophian redaction dating from 1280, and the Greek version from the Cathedral of the Dormition dating from 1410. Let us mention the group of translations from Greek in the "non-possessors'" collection. In the 1680s and 1690s, Evfimii of Chudov left traces which could be understood to mean that Maksim Grek translated the *whole* collection of

canons from the Greek[25]—the interpretation which, due to Ioakhim, later became widely known.[26] It was to an extent contested by Ivanov.[27] Previously it was determined that Maksim had translated for Vassian the fourteenth apostolic canon with a gloss by Theodore Balsamon, the twenty-fourth canon of the fourth Ecumenical council, and canons twelve and eighteen of the seventh Ecumenical council also with Balsamon's *scholia*. The translations of the four rules of Basil the Great completed by Maksim from a Greek Nomocanon were also noted.[28] Codex S also includes other translations, "written from the Greek rules which Maksim Grek translated" (Codex S, fond 623, cf. fond 10v, 473), such as an excerpt from a letter of Patriarch Tarasius to Pope Adrian,[29] the rule of John the Silent (*Bezmolvnik*) about the Nomocanon of John IV Nesteutes (Faster) and three rules of Niphon. Two remarks in codex S tell us that there existed "rules of Maksim's translation." Perhaps these very remarks confused Evfimii of Chudov. The whole text of the Nomocanon, however, is not meant, but merely all the rules of Basil the Great. Codex S contains Basil's rules ninety-two and ninety-three (unknown by these numbers in Russia, but counted according to the Greek tradition adopted by Beveregius).[30] If one takes into account the traces of a new translation of Basil's seventeenth rule in Vassian's "Discourse Given in Response" (1523–1524),[31] it becomes possible to assert that Maksim translated all ninety-three rules of Basil the Great (by Rallis and Potlis' count—ninety-two).

Codex S also contains fragments translated from the "Church History" of Theodoritus and the "Precepts" of deacon Agapetus. The table of contents includes the title of the latter work in a Bulgarian translation of the eleventh century: "helmsmen to the souls and a perceptor." The title, however, is corrected by Medovartsev's scribe to read, "But in other [books] it is written . . . " and then follows the title from folio 566v. Indeed, this latter correction is changed again by Medovartsev: instead of "in other" he wrote "in Greek." The translation of the "Precepts" placed in an appendix to codex S is otherwise known in the manuscript dating not earlier than the 1520s in the Josephite tradition (RGB, Volokolamskoe 489—oldest manuscript, Volokolamskoe 522; RNB, Q.XVII.50, Sofiiskoe 1480). We have grounds to believe that the new translation, third in number, of the "Precepts" is the work of Maksim himself or of his disciples.[32]

It is also possible to attribute to Maksim the translations of articles of "Hellenistic sages" which were pointed out in Vassian's *Kormchaia* by Metropolitan Daniil in 1531, "but you now in your rules of Hellenistic sages wrote a teaching."[33] These excerpts include two letters of Aristotle dedicated to Phillip, and a fragment without a name in codex S, but titled in Volok. 489 "By Socrates, the Hellenistic sage." To the same group belongs also the "Exhortation" of Basil Komnenos to Leo, as well as a reference to a letter of Photius to Mikhail of Bulgar ("in a new book of Maksim's translation").

Codex S has preserved extracts from the interpretive Psalter translated by Maksim in 1519–1522.[34] The explanation to the biography of Gregory

(Thaumaturgus?) Dvoeslov written on the margin of folio 459, just as Maksim's "Tale" about the Nomocanon interpreters, probably originated from some words of Maksim spoken and then later written down. Excerpts from John Chrysostom's commentary to the Gospel of Luke allow one to conjecture an at least partial translation of this work by Maksim or by his disciples.

Vassian also cites the following Slavic manuscripts in codex S: the breviary of metropolitan Cyprian (1397), and a collection of sixteen discourses of Gregory of Nazianzus the Theologian with commentary by Nicetas of Heracleia, which were kept in the treasury of the grand prince in the 1520s.[35]

Our list of manuscripts used in the composition of Vassian's *Kormchaia*, although in all probability incomplete, gives evidence as to where it was composed. The various stages of composition are represented by the codices P, A, T, and S. The work was created in Moscow, in the immediate vicinity of the book collection of the Cathedral of the Dormition, of the Grand Princely Treasury, of the cell of Maksim Grek, and of the library of the Simonov monastery. The last piece of evidence, which corroborates our identification and, in fact, makes the Simonov monastery the most likely place of composition, is the fact that some draft notes of Dosifei Toporkov are used in the original redaction of Vassian to the anonymous *scholia* of the beginning of the fifteenth century to canon seventy-one of the council of Carthage. Toporkov lived in Simonov Monastery at the beginning of the 1520s and visited Vassian's cell many times.[36]

Analysis of Polemical Positions

We can understand Vassian's position more precisely because of two indexes which he provided to the text of his *Kormchaia*: his redaction of the "Syntagma of Fourteen Titles," and his "Discourse of a Certain Elder." The Syntagma shows more than thirty instances where Vassian changed the traditional text of the Collection of Fourteen Titles. Vassian gently urged his readers to analyze nine themes with special attention:

1. Liturgics. Section III, chapter 1 (on special celebratory instructions for Pentecost and Sundays), chapter 21 (on church services twice a week); section IV, chapter 3 (on the separate celebration of Jewish Passover and Orthodox Easter). The corrections in the text of three sections with several strained interpretations may be connected with critical discussions about the celebratory instructions of the Church, which Vassian carried out with Maksim in the presence of the Metropolitan's elders Dosifei, Foma, and Isaiia.[37] Iosif Volotskii participated in disputes about Easter computations and formed the eighth discourse of the "Book on Heretics" in 1492/93.[38] Iosif's computations left an imprint on the consciousness of younger contemporaries. For instance, the anonymous author of the seventy-ninth chapter of the *One Hundred Chapters* (*Stoglav*), investigating this question anew, falsely attributed his work to Iosif Volotskii.[39]

2. Condemnation of Taverns (*Kormchestvo*). section I chapter 31; section IX, chapter 25.

3. Decent Behavior for Congregants in Church. Section III, chapters 2, 7.

While all three of these themes are not directly related to the polemics with the Josephites, their preponderance in the text is enough to demonstrate that Vassian, a monk, took upon himself the pastoral cares of teachers or preachers, which were forbidden to monks.

4. Tonsure of Slaves. Vassian speaks out harshly against the tonsure of slaves. Section I, chapter 36 (canon 64 of the council of Carthage is noted); section XI, chapter 3. This theme is singled out in the first redaction of the "Discourse of a Certain Elder," which cites the fourth canon of the fourth ecumenical council, forbidding slaves to become monks without the consent of their masters. This is developed in the second and third redactions of the "Discourse of a Certain Elder" as references to the eighty-second apostolic canon (which forbids slaves from entering the clergy without the consent of their masters, as, for example, Paul accepted Onesimus just after the permission of Philemon) and to the fifth canon of the Council of 869–870 (which establishes the maximum terms of a mandatory three-year or six-month novitiate before tonsure). This should be compared to section 11, chapter 3 of the Syntagma, in which the following statement is added to the words of the Russian redaction of the *Kormchaia* "On Slaves and Monasticism": "without special inquiries, no one may become a monk." Vassian's canonical research seems aimed against the well-known and uniquely demonstrative steps of Iosif Volotskii, who took runaway slaves into the monastery and vindicated their actions, thereby violating canonical instructions. It is possible that Iosif's epistle to I. A. Cheliadnin, which is devoted to this question, recorded the first echoes of "abuse" from Vassian aimed at Iosif.[40]

5. The Reception of Penitent Heretics. Section I, chapter 4, section II, chapter 3, 15. Vassian began particular polemics centered around this question in 1511–1512.[41] The most important texts about the reception of heretics concentrated not on the corresponding interpolations of the *Syntagma*, but below, in chapters 12–15 of section XII (pp. 340–345^{v}).

6. On the Dismissal of a Bishop upon the Complaints of a Priest. Section I, chapter 5, 17, 26; section III, chapter 2. Such canonical precedent did not occur to the compiler or, to the numerous editors of the Collection of Fourteen Titles, the A.D. 883 redactions, and treatments which appeared when the Russian redaction of the Collection was formulated in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Vassian was concerned with this question because he had witnessed a rare precedent in canonical practice, which had occurred in the Muscovite Church: Archbishop Serapion was removed from office in April 1509 upon the complaint of the priest Iosif Volotskii.[42]

7. On Monastic Villages. Section X revised order of chapters; some editorial comments in chapter 4; a new heading for section XI. Here Vassian gives two clear statements, first under the heading "About Villages, which could Denigrate the Monastery," and them, in a more extensive and definite passage: "After this section XI mentions the villages of monasteries. Nevertheless it is not monks who should possess those villages, but stewards, and monks should provide for all of their needs according to a bishop's order or by charity from Christians, if they fail to support themselves by their own work" (P, folio 37^{v}–38). The Syntagma of codex P kept Vassian's most precise pronouncement concerning inhabited lands which belonged to the monasteries. The villages, although causing "evil" (*pakost*) to the monks, should not be taken from the monasteries but should come under the administration of the stewards of the cathedral churches. This idea corresponds exactly to our observations on the changes to the text of the first, second, and third redactions of the "Discourse of a Certain Elder."[43]

8. On Administrative Regulations of Possessions of the Bishoprics and Churches. Section I, chapter 35; section VIII, chapter 7; the arrangement of chapters of section X. Vassian certainly recognized the right of churches and administrative cathedras to real estate and personal property, but with a stipulation. He states that the administration of church possessions should be transferred to a bishop, who in turn may have a steward handle it on his behalf.

9. On the Behavior of Members of the Episcopate. Section VIII, chapters 3, 8, 11, 12; section XII, chapter 4; section XIII, chapter 14. Vassian required bishops to display all Christian virtues. According to his conception, archpriests carried the responsibility for the command of church and monastic property. Such property could bring about evil if someone abused it for his own benefit. Vassian developed a similar train of thought in the third redaction of the "Discourse of a Certain Elder" and the "Discourse Given in Answer." But in the *Kormchaia*, Vassian provides newly invented case scenarios, which give guidelines on how to respond to any misbehavior on the part of bishops. Bishops are forbidden "to enter the tsar's camp" ("v stan tsarev vkhoditi"), and no one is to engage in "bribery" or to dispute the resolutions of church councils.

All these subjects are reflected in the reshaping of the Syntagma of codex AT and codex S. Codex P was the basis of codex AT—Vassian added additional material to codex P (culled from the Synagogue) in order to create codex AT. The additional material from the Synagogue corresponds to various chapters of the Syntagma. The most significant changes involve the themes numbered above as 7, 8, and 9. These alterations make the next redactions rather different from the earlier version, despite efforts by Vassian to present the Syntagma of codex AT as simply a new redaction of the earlier Syntagma. The text on monastic villages, for example, is completely removed from section XI. While codex P was very explicit that monastic villages could not be allowed, the instructions in codex AT are vague—all that remains are some unclear

lamentations about violations of monastic precepts. All further distinctions of the Syntagma of codex AT cannot be examined here.

On monastic villages, the Syntagma of codex S for the most part follows the dubious position of AT. If, in the second and third redactions of the "Discourse of a Certain Elder," Vassian attempts to show that references to monastic villages in the canons of the fourth and seventh Ecumenical councils were the result of botched translations from Greek, then it would seem necessary to strengthen his ideas by an instruction on "the corruption of laws from heretics." The tone of the Syntagma of codex S clearly presents a redaction that is special and distinct from that of codex AT. In treatment of the bishops codex S also carries new themes: simony (Section I, chapter 26), false teaching, and others.

Observations about the Synagogue being composed of three versions of Vassian's *Kormchaia* confirms our cursory notes, made while reading through the Syntagma.

The general progression in the editing the Syntagma and the Synagogue of the "non-possessors" *Kormchaia*, briefly described by us above and confirmed in the pioneering textological studies on separate articles, such as the "Discourse of a Certain Elder"[44] and the *scholia* to canon seventy-one of the council of Carthage,[45] testifies that the work on the *Kormchaia* was carried out in three stages: P–AT–S.

Codex P includes 17 articles, but is incomplete (the second book has been lost), containing just the "first book" of the preliminary *Kormchaia.* The composition of the second book may be reconstructed because of five references to it, discovered in codex P ([1] p. 2, 101—"the second book" opened by the eighteenth chapter; [2] the rules of Gennadius, archbishop of Constantinople; [3] p. 139—Discourse Twenty-three, which includes the thirty-fifth question of Athanasius of Alexandria; [4] p. 265^v—a general reference; [5] pp. 389^v, 390—a reference to Discourse twenty-eight of the "second book"). These references in codex P do not correspond to a single one of the three more complete manuscript copies of *Kormchaia* (codices A, T, and S), but it is clear that the "second book" of codex P holds no fewer than eleven discourses (18–28). According to Gurii Tushin's version of the first redaction of "Discourse of a Certain Elder" (part of codex P),[46] one may assert that Gurii Tushin recopied articles from the *Kormchaia* which were close to codex P, but, judging from the composition of Gurii's collection Sofiiskoe 1451 and Sofiiskoe 1468, a full copy of the *Kormchaia*, that is, including the "second book was available to him."

Codices AT follow the general common form which was more complete than the "first book" of codex P, plus 17 articles, which are equally reflected in codex A and codex T. The supplementary articles of codex T (405–446^v; the further text has been lost) we consider as preparatory material to the next form of the *Kormchaia*, in distinction to the full form of codex P, which, similarly, was regarded by the author as the summation of a definite stage of work and was sent by Vassian to the Kirillo-Belozerskii monastery. The protograph,

reflected in codex AT, constituted a rough selection (in codex AT it is ceremonially copied), with several inconsistencies in the table of contents (unnecessary references to the "second book" are retained, as in codex P).

The full and complete form of Vassian's *Kormchaia* is obtained in codex S. The related codex S of the "non-possessors" compendium was presented to the 1531 council: only in codex S were the articles of the "Hellenistic sages" kept, about which the Metropolitan spoke at the trial. Meanwhile, a different manuscript copy was undoubtedly used in the grand princely treasury and produced for Vassian at the 1531 trial: That copy was copied by Isaak Sobaka and was corrected by him[47]—in codex S the handwriting of Isaak is not detected. Codex S is clearly a draft copy because it contains many corrections, small pieces of paper glued to various chapters, and other additions. We may suppose, therefore, that codex S was the original from which Isaak Sobaka prepared a final copy for Vasilii III.

The most thorny disputes among scholars call into question the times of origin of the different versions (redactions) of the "non-possessors" *Kormchaia*. Contemporary historiography leans on the opinion of A. S. Pavlov (1871, 1902), who placed the first stage of Vassian's editorial work (codex P) at 1517, on the basis of records in AT ("siia kniga pisana po blagosloveniyu . . . Varlaama mitropolita vseia Rusii v leto 7025-go, mesiatsa maiia 27 dnia"), and the second stage (codex AT) at 1518 and the following years, when Maksim Grek was working in Muscovy.[48] N. A. Kazakova (1974) defined the version of the *Kormchaia* presented in codices AT as *terminus post quem non* 1524. Kazakova's elaboration depends on two arguments: that copies from Vassian's *Kormchaia* were made no later than 1524 by Gurii Tushin (Sofiiskoe 1451), and that the manuscript copy of the *Kormchaia* which Gurii worked from was related precisely then to the second redaction.[49]

The conclusions of Kazakova assume that Sofiiskoe 1451 in its Kirillo-Belozerskii part is concerned not with 1524, but with 1523–July 1526,[50] and that Gurii copied articles not from the *Kormchaia* of the AT type, but mostly from the full form of codex P. The argument of Pavlov is plausible, but not free from logical mistakes: the presence of translated materials of Maksim in codex AT really testifies to the creation of this type of *Kormchaia* after the arrival of Maksim in Moscow. However, the absence of translated articles by Maksim in the incomplete manuscript copy P by no means guarantees that this copy originated before the beginning of Maksim's work in Rus (Vassian did not necessarily become close to Maksim quickly; the translations of Maksim could have been kept in the "second book" of codex P). The date (1517) mentioned in codex AT could be interpreted as an indication of the day of completion of the full form of codex P, or as a mention of the day when the blessing of the metropolitan Varlaam was received for the redaction of the *Kormchaia*. At the trial of 1531, Vassian referred to the decision of the small Moscow council, where Varlaam, Vassian Sanin, Simeon Stremoukhov and Dosifei Zabella "compelled" (*ponudili*) him to edit the *Kormchaia*.[51] If this council really took

place (in 1531 Dosifei Zabella denied that a council had convened), it should have convened between July 27, 1511 (the elevation of Varlaam) and August 28, 1515 (the death of Vassian Sanin).

I think that the work of Vassian on the *Kormchaia* began in 1511–1515, that some kind of preliminary form was completed in May 1517, and that the full redaction, partially reflecting codex P and the copies of Gurii Tushin (Sofiiskoe 1451 and Sofiiskoe 1468), was compiled in the first half of the 1520s. In the "Discourse Given in Answer" of 1523–1524 Vassian testified that he was in the process of editing the *Kormchaia* (" . . . knigu tselu sъstaviti nam imeut").[52] It is possible that he was writing about the stage of editorial work reflected in the codices AT. Paleographic marks of codex S tell us that the copy was created in the middle to second half of the 1520s among the circle which served the literary interests of Vassian. However, nowhere in codex S do we find the marks of Maksim Grek himself. It is possible that the manuscript was copied and edited sometime after his arrest (at the end of November 1524–before February 15, 1525). Presumably, it is dated from between December 1524 and May 1531; moreover, the dating of the paper is closer to the latter than to 1525.[53]

The three subsequent redactions of Vassian Patrikeev's *Kormchaia* from 1517 to the second half of the 1520s retain reliable testimony on the character and directions of the polemics of Vassian with the followers of Iosif Volotskii. New gains in our knowledge of canon law compilations should contribute to our understanding of these sources. Perhaps then the sources themselves will receive greater attention from all scholars examining the essence of medieval church debates, which were based in large part on the general tradition of canon law.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFED	N. A. Kazakova and Ia. S. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniia na Rusi XIV–nachala XVI veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955).
GIM	Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei (Moscow).
MDA	Moskovskaia Dukhovnaia Akademiia collection in the manuscript department of RGB.
RFA	A. I. Pliguzov et al., eds. *Russkii feodal'nyi arkhiv XIV–pervoi treti XVI veka.* 5 vols. to date (Moscow, 1986–).
RGB	Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (Moscow).
RGADA	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Moscow).
RIB	A. S. Pavlov, ed. *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu.* Vol. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1880).
RNB	Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia biblioteka (St. Petersburg).
PSRL	*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei.* Vol. 12 (St. Petersburg, 1901); vol. 13, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1906); vol. 20, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1910); vol. 26 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1959) vol. 28 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962).
TODRL	*Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury.* 48 vols. to date (Leningrad/ St. Petersburg, 1934–).
ZhMNP	*Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* (St. Petersburg, 1834–1917).

NOTES

* This article is abridged from one originally written in Russian, and was translated by David E. Burke, Theodore Korzukhin, and the author. This work was completed during my term as a scholar at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies (Washington, D.C., October 1994–August 1995). For a more detailed discussion of the origin of Vassian's *Kormchaia* and some of the texts incorporated into this judicial compilation, see A. I. Pliguzov, "Protivostoianie Mitropolich'ei i Vassianovskoi kormchikh nakanune sudebnykh zasedanii 1531 goda," *Issledovaniia po istochnikovedeniiu istorii SSSR dooktiabr'skogo perioda* (Moscow,

1985), pp. 23–68 and idem, "Kormchaia Vassiana Patrikeeva," *Issledovaniia po istochnikovedeniiu istorii SSSR dooktiabr'skogo perioda* (Moscow, 1989).

1. A. S. Pavlov, *Istoricheskii ocherk sekuliarizatsii tserkovnykh zemel' v Rossii* (Odessa, 1871), pt. 1, p. 73.

2. N. S. Suvorov, *Kurs tserkovnogo prava* (Iaroslavl', 1889), pt. 1, p. 328.

3. M. Ostroumov, *Vvedenie v pravoslavnoe tserkovnoe pravo* (Kharkiv, 1893), pt. 1, p. 553–554, 284; V. N. Beneshevich, *Kanonicheskii sbornik XIV titulov so vtoroi chetverti VII veka do 883 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 13–14, 40, 98.

4. U. K. Begunov, "Kormchaia Ivana Volka Kuritsyna," *TODRL* 12 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1956): 144.

5. A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* 7 (Rome, 1842): 77–480 [for the editor's explanation of the sources used, see pp. viii–xxxii].

6. J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . seriae graeca*, 104 (Paris, 1860), col. 441–976.

7. G. Bickell, "Kirchenrecht: (A. Mai) Spicilegium Romanum Tom VII," *Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, ed. F. Hand (Leipzig, 1844), no. 282/3, November 23–25, 1844, p. 1125–1130; V. N. Beneshevich, *Kanonicheskii sbornik XIV titulov so vtoroi chetverti VII veka do 883 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 13–14, 98.

8. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960), p. 95n56; cf. p. 96n53; p. 197n168; Idem, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli. Pervaia tret' XVI veka* (Leningrad, 1970), p. 145n185; p. 146n188; p. 111n100; Idem, "K izucheniiu kormchei Vassiana Patrikeeva," *TODRL* 28 (1974): 344–49. I. Zuzek, S. J. *Kormcaja Kniga. Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law* (Rome, 1964), pp. 42–44 [=*Orientalia Christiana Analecta,* 168].

9. For publication, see N. A. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia*; cf. A. I. Pliguzov, "Vstuplenie Vassiana Patrikeeva v polemiku o monastyrskikh zemliakh i tvorcheskaia istoriia 'Sobraniia nekoego startsa,'" in *Issledovaniia po istochnikovedeniiu istorii SSSR dooktiabr'skogo perioda* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 4–48.

10. On different "well-defined types" of canonical collections of Russian origin, see S. I. Smirnov, *Materialy dlia istorii drevnerusskoi pokaiannoi distsipliny* (Moscow, 1912), pp. 255–56.

11. See A. I. Pliguzov, "Sudnyi spisok Maksima Greka," *Arkhiv Russkoi Istorii* 1 (Moscow, 1992).

12. V. N. Beneshevich, *Drevne-slavianskaia Kormchaia XIV titulov bez tolkovanii*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1906), pp. 5–56.

13. See *Svodnyi katalog slaviano-russkikh knig, khraniashchikhsia v SSSR. XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1984), p. 207–210.
14. I. I. Sreznevskii, *Obozrenie drevnikh russkikh spiskov kormchei knigi* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 139–70.
15. S. V. Troitski, *Kako treba izdati Svetosavsku krmciju (Nomokanon sa tumacenjima)* (Belgrade, 1952) (Srpska Akademija nauka. Snomenik, 102. Odelljenje drustvenih nauka. Nova serija. 4), p 77.
16. Ia. N. Shchapov, *Vizantiiskoe i iuzhnoslavianskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1978 pp. 48, 133, 160.
17. S. V. Troitski, *Kako treba izdati Svetosavsku krmciju*, p. 82; Migne, 28 (1857), col. 1179–1182; idem, 138 (1865), col. 565–572; *Kormchaia*, pt. 1, l. 264.
18. A. I. Pliguzov, "Protivostoianie," pp. 33, 54–60.
19. B. L. Fonkich, *Grechesko-russkie kul'turnye sviazi v XV–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 12–13.
20. E. Prilezhaev, "Novgorodskaia Sofiiskaia kazna," *ZhMNP* (St. Petersburg, 1875), pt. 180, no. 7, pp. 11–112; *PSRL*, vol. 4, pt. 1, issue 3, p. 611.
21. *PSRL*, vol. 4, p. 296.
22. *RIB* vol. 6, col. 657–670; *PSRL* vol. 24, p. 186; vol. 25, p. 279; P. M. Stroev, *Spiski ierarkhov i nastoiatelei monastyrei Rossiiskoi tserkvi* (St. Petersburg, 1877), col. 509; *RFA* vol. 5, p. 1001.
23. Ia. N. Shchapov, *Vizantiiskoe i iuzhnoslavianskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI–XIII vv* pp 154, 137, 266–67.
24. Iu. K. Begunov, *Kormchaia Ivana Volka Kuritsyna*, p. 144.
25. GIM. Sinodal'noe 464. l. 290, 841^{v}, 846, 849^{v}. On the *Kormchaia* of Evfimii see T .A. Lisovaia, *Leksika kormchikh knig vtoroi poloviny XVII veka.* Dissertation abstract (Moscow, 1986), pp. 9–10.
26. V. S. Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremia,* 2nd ed. (Kyiv, 1915), p. 175.
27. A. I. Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka* (Leningrad, 1969), p. 50.
28. Ibid., pp. 51, 59.
29. S. V. Troitski, p. 81—exists in the Serbian *Kormchaia*, cf. Migne, 98 (1860), col. 1441–1452.
30. These differences in the numbering of regulations is explained by the fact that regulation 87 of Basil the Great, according to Rallis and Potlis' edition of Beveregius, Pitra, and the *Pidalion*, is presented as the intro-

duction to the epistle of Diodorus of Tarsus (Migne 138 [1865], col. 809B–812B), while in the published *Kormchaia* of 1649–1653 it is regulation 86 (*Kormchaia*, pt. 1, 1, 248).

31. N. A. Kazakova, *Vassian*, p. 266. For the Greek original, see Migne, 138 (1865), col. 644D.
32. For the Greek original, see Migne 86 (1859), col. 1163–1186.
33. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev*, p. 292.
34. N. V. Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii* (Moscow, 1977), p. 64.
35. Cf.: D.M. Bulanin, *Perevody i poslaniia Maksima Greka* (Leningrad, 1984), p. 33–40.
36. A. I. Pliguzov, "Protivostoianie," pp. 39–43.
37. *Sudnye spiski Maksima Greka i Isaka Sobaki* (Moscow, 1971), p. 115.
38. *AFED*. p. 401.
39. A. I. Pliguzov, "Protivostoianie," pp. 35–36.
40. *Poslaniia Iosifa Volotskogo* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), pp. 149–52.
41. See A. I. Pliguzov, "Polemika o novgorodskikh eretikakh i 'Otvet kirillovskikh startsev,'" in *Jews and Slavs*, ed. W. Moskovich, vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1995).
42. A. A. Zimin, *Krupnaia feodal'naia votchina*, pp. 75–100; RFA, vol. 10, p. 1051.
43. See A. I. Pliguzov, "Sobranie nekoego startsa."
44. See A. I. Pliguzov, *Vstuplenie Vassiana Patrikeeva v polemiku.*
45. See idem, "Protivostoianie."
46. Idem, "Vstuplenie Vassiana Patrikeeva v polemiku."
47. N. A. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev*, p. 294.
48. A. S. Pavlov, *Istoricheskii ocherk*, p. 93; idem, *Kurs tserkovnogo prava* (Sergiev Posad, 1902), pp. 117–19.
49. N. A. Kazakova, *Ocherki*, pp. 262–65.
50. See A. I. Pliguzov, "Vstuplenie Vassiana Patrikeeva v polemiku."
51. N. A. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev*, p. 286.
52. Ibid., p. 256.
53. The codex contains 630 folios in quarto: the main part consists of a page without marks, analogous to that which was used from the first decade of the 1500s to the 1530s in the Simonov monastery (the clerk (d'iak Ivan, 1508: GIM Eparkhial'noe 321) and in the Kirillo-Belozerskii monastery (Nil Polev: Eparkhial'noe 320). We also find sheets of paper in copy S

from other quires: some with the mark "orel" (eagle) (fols. 181–182, 575–577)—a paper which was lavishly consumed in the metropolitan chancellery in the 1520s (B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskii svod*, pp. 71–81)—others with the mark "perchatka" (hand) (fols. 486–491, 488–489)—which was used by Isaak Sobaka in 1524 (RGB, Troitskoe 100. See the marks "golova byka" (bull's head) of a rare type (fols. 576–578)—Piccard XVI, 375 (1515–1523) with the letter "P" of a rare configuration (fols. 623–630)—Piccard, P. VII, 1450 (1526) 3 pages of rare paper with the mark "polumesiatsa" (half-moon) (fols. 1–6)—Mikhail Medovartsev wrote on such paper in Moscow in the 1520s. (GIM, Sinodalnoe 562, fols. 246–249, two half sheets and a sheet) and, as it seems, the same in Moscow in the 1520s (GIM, Chudovskoe 267, fols. 459–512—22 full pages; for a similar but not identical mark see Likhachev 3648). Among the handwriting on the codex we find the hand of a writer who N. V. Sinitsyna has identified as Selivan, a disciple of Maksim (fol. 621^{v}—mark in the upper margin; see Sinitsyna, pp. 285–86) as well as the handwriting of Mikhail Medovartsev (fol. 8^{v}, l. 5–9 below, l. 4 above; see N. V. Sinitsyna, "Knizhnyi master Mikhail Medovartsev," *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Rukopisniia kniga* (Moscow, 1974), col. 2, pp. 145–49. The main writer of the codex clearly imitated the writing of Isaak Sobaka. Paleographic analysis shows that the Suzdalskaia *Kormchaia* was compiled in Moscow between the middle and the second half of the 1520s.

"Foolish Rus'": On Polish Civilization, Ruthenian Self-Hatred, and Kasijan Sakovyč

DAVID A. FRICK

Famous (in certain Ukrainian and Polish circles) is the anecdote about the simple Orthodox priest from around L'viv, who, sometime in the early seventeenth century, began his homily with the words: "Listen, Christians, to the sermon of Saint Rej." The picture is undoubtedly funny. We are asked here to imagine a barely-literate provincial Orthodox priest opening perhaps the only book in his possession, a postil by Mikołaj Rej, one of the central figures of the Polish Renaissance. And then we imagine that Calvinist author of earthy facetiae. After all, Rej was a man who (according to Jakub Wujek, his Jesuit competitor as postillographer) interpreted Holy Writ "never having studied it in his life, [and] spent his years in pranks, cards, court life, scoffing, jokes, and rhyming."[1] Even allowing for Jesuit disinformation, it is clear that the priest was mistaken in including Rej among the Orthodox saints. But equally clearly, the point of the anecdote was to emphasize the priest's simplicity, if not outright ignorance.

That the story enjoys the limited familiarity it does is thanks, in large measure, to the nineteenth-century literary historian Michał Wiszniewski, who included it verbatim in his monumental history of Polish literature (1851, 368). In this way, the anecdote has become part of learned Polish discourse. It is told as an illustration of the growing importance of Polish books, language, and culture for the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including its Orthodox eastern territories. But it is also told with a wink to the audience over yet another example of Orthodox simplicity.

The important thing for my argument here is the fact that it was a Ruthenian, Kasijan Sakovyč, who first published the anecdote to the world in print. Sakovyč was one of the "unquiet souls" in which early seventeenth-century Rus' abounded.[2] Born around 1580, the son of an Orthodox priest in Potylyč, he received his higher schooling at the Catholic academies of Zamość and Cracow. For a while, nonetheless, he remained Orthodox. He was tutor, probably in the mid 1610s, to the young Adam Kysil, future castellan and senator.[3] He was a deacon for the Uniate archbishop of Przemyśl, Atanazij Krupec'kyj, perhaps in the late 1610s.[4] In 1620 he became an Orthodox monk in Kyiv; for the next four years he was rector of the Orthodox Brotherhood School and as such, a precursor of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla in his efforts to establish Kyiv as the center of Orthodox learning. In 1622 Sakovyč published a cycle of poems in Ruthenian on the death of Petro Sahajdačnyj, hetman of the

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Zaporozhian Cossack host. In this cycle intended for public performance by his Kyivan students, Sakovyč offered, in the name of the Ruthenian intellectual elite, a vision of the Cossacks and their hetman as the representatives of Ruthenian interests.[5] This is the work for which Sakovyč is best known to historians of early modern Ruthenian culture. His later path would seem all the more extreme to those who remembered that he had begun in the camp that had seen in the Cossacks and the stauropegial brotherhoods the political and spiritual center of Rus'.

In 1625 Sakovyč was a preacher at the Orthodox Brotherhood Church in Lublin. But shortly thereafter he had converted to the Uniate Church, becoming archimandrite of the monastery in Dubno, a holding of Aleksander Zasławski, palatine of Braclav. His conversion seems to have come at about the same time as that of Meletij Smotryc'kyj (whose conversion also enjoyed the sponsoring of Zasławski), and, as the archbishop's neighbor in their Volhynian monasteries, Sakovyč was involved in some of the events surrounding his more famous co-convert. As the one responsible for printing Smotryc'kyj's *Apology,* Sakovyč was officially anathematized when the book was condemned by the Kyiv council of August 1628.[6] Sakovyč remained ensconced as Uniate archimandrite of the Dubno monastery until 1639. But in 1641, at about 60 years of age, he converted once again—this time from the Uniate Church to the Roman Catholic Church. The last years of his life would place him once again at the center of scandal and intrigue.

As was always the case in conversions in this period, the sides differed greatly in their interpretations of the event. Sakovyč sketched a path of rejecting "Greco-Ruthenian errors, heresies, and superstitions" on his way to finding the truth.[7] The Orthodox charged Sakovyč with greed, baseness, and lack of constancy, and they spoke of scandalous episodes involving sex and violence in the archimandrite's past.[8] The Orthodox side—probably Mohyla himself[9]—wrote: "But you, who have already three times changed your faith and rite, as a chameleon his color, will not long from now join some heretical congregation, thus changing a fourth time, whence will be your certain and final perdition, from which may the Lord God protect you, having given you understanding for repentance. Amen."[10] The author of a *Picture of the Orthodox Eastern Church* (*Obraz prawosławney Cerkwi wschodniey,* 1645[11]) warned: "Beware of him, Gentlemen Poles! He studied Turkish in Kyiv and declared that he would refute the Koran. He has already changed his faith three times; he could even take on Mohammedanism and become your enemy, because he is a *vir ad deceptionem natus* [man born to deception]."[12]

The archimandrite, of course, offered a different picture. A good Uniate, concerned only with eradicating pseudo-Uniatism from his own side, Sakovyč had focused on the discrepancies between the old and the new calendars as one of the minimal distinguishing marks of true Uniateness. He published a work on this topic in Vilnius in 1641, allegedly with the blessings of the local Uniate brotherhood and hierarchy. In Sakovyč's representation, however, the lesser

hierarchs and priests had upended authority, turned against their outspoken colleague, and forced him to choose between recantation and confinement or flight. Sakovyč chose flight. He converted to the Roman Catholic Church, for which step he received a special dispensation from the pope. He then temporarily settled in the Augustinian monastery of Saint Catherine in Cracow's Kazimierz, where he continued to write against the errors of the "Greco-Ruthenians." He seems to have left the Augustinian novitiate by 1645 and to have died in 1647.

The most important of his last works was a tract entitled ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΣ [*A Setting Right*], *That Is: A Perspective and Explanation of the Errors, Heresies, and Superstitions That Are Found in the Greco-Ruthenian Disuniate Church, Both in the Articles of the Faith and in the Administration of Sacraments and in Other Rites and Ceremonies* (Cracow, 1642). It is here that we find the anecdote about the Orthodox priest and his Saint Rej. The way the story was told provides some insight into the story-teller:

> And sometimes another *pop* will babble any old thing, and there is nothing to listen to. And others tell their sermons to the people from heretical postils. As was the case with one *pop* outside of L'viv, who said: "Listen, Christians, to the sermon of Saint Rej." Having noticed this, the Franciscan father Koropatnicki, who was then still a layman, took from the *pop* as a punishment for this two oxen and that postil of Rej.[13]

Note first the superfluous details that add grotesquerie to the punishment: the poor priest was deprived not only of what may well have been his only book, but also of two oxen (not one, and not three). This would seem to be a sort of reckoning: one book equals two oxen. However we figure this economy, what is important is the equation of the spiritual and the physical, or the reduction of the spiritual to the brutely physical in Sakovyč's portrayal of Ruthenian Church life. Sakovyč returned to physical details over and over in his account, and I will return to them in mine shortly.

For the moment, however, I would like to focus on some of the implications of the fact that Sakovyč wrote his denunciation of Ruthenian Church life in Polish. There is, of course, nothing particularly surprising in this fact. This had long been the norm for Ruthenian polemicists of all confessions. Scholarship has largely focused its attention on the remarkable degree and rapidity with which the Ruthenian elite became participants in Polish civilization. Antoine Martel's classic study remains the place to begin any investigation of the Polonization of Rus' at the level of language and letters. Recent work by Henryk Litwin on the Catholicization of the Ruthenian *szlachta* has returned to one of Martel's conclusions: that conversion to Roman Catholicism came, on the whole, as a result of Polonization, and not the other way around.[14] I would like, however, to ask a somewhat different question of the same set of data: What scars, hidden or otherwise, were left by this operation of taking on another face and speaking with a new tongue?[15]

In general, participation in the public life of Poland-Lithuania brought with it—or, depending upon one's point of view, came only at the cost of—a certain degree of Polonization. This process of acculturation was clearly smoother for the Lithuanians, who were not separated by confessional difference from what was becoming the dominant culture of the Commonwealth; for the Ruthenians, a crucial part of whose identity was connected with eastern Orthodoxy, the process was more complicated. Conversely, as the Lithuanians became Polonized they learned an entirely new language and left the old one behind; Ruthenians learned a new alphabet, but spoke a language closely related to the new one and could thus be perceived as speaking a regional or social variant of the better-positioned social norm that was Polish. As Ruthenians became more and more linguistically, culturally, and politically Polonized, the potential for tensions in individual identities became greater. Looking at the issue from a slightly different angle, we might say that the limited inclusiveness that characterized Polish-Lithuanian society stood in some direct relationship to the phenomenon I am calling Ruthenian self-hatred.

One of the goals of Polish-Lithuanian society was the creation of "political Poles," gentry citizens of the Commonwealth of various ethnicities and confessions who could be made to think of themselves as politically Polish.[16] There were ethnic, socio-economic, and confessional factors that facilitated or hindered the process of becoming politically Polish. Some Ruthenians were in a position to move up the scale by becoming "political Poles," *gente rutheni, natione poloni,* to use the formula associated with Stanisław Orzechowski. These were the gentry who converted to Catholicism. Their Ruthenianness remained as a part of local, family heritage, and the dominant version of society considered this a harmless difference. Such Ruthenians became "Polish" much the way the Lithuanian gentry became "Polish." Only the magnates and the greater nobles could remain Orthodox and still be accepted as fully-fledged participants in political and social life, and that only early on, before the Reformation, Catholic Reform, and Orthodox Slavic Reform had begun to draw the battle lines more precisely. The Ruthenian peasantry was excluded from mobility at this point and did not become active players until the Xmel'nyc'kyj Revolt of the mid-seventeenth century. The society of Poland-Lithuania was "inclusive" to the extent that it could accommodate a variety of ethnicities and confessions, allow for relatively peaceful co-existence, and make it possible to move up through the acquisition of the cultural, confessional, and economic qualities that were socially desirable. It was exclusive to the extent that obstacles were placed in the way of Polonization for certain ethnic and social groups. In spite of increasing questions in the public forum about their political trustworthiness, the heterodox *szlachta* was, on the whole, more fully Polish and more easily Polonized than the Ruthenians.

In the early seventeenth century a dilemma faced many Ruthenians who found themselves in a social and political middle between the magnates, who had by now largely converted to Roman Catholicism, and the peasantry and

Cossack ranks. This was a group that included lesser gentry, Church hierarchs, and perhaps some of the burghers. This newly forming Ruthenian elite encountered choices ranging from Polonization and conversion to Roman Catholicism, on the one hand, to adherence, on the other hand, to visions of Ruthenianness that were still in the process of negotiation and could consist in greater or lesser degrees of Polonization and might be either Greek Catholic or Orthodox. None of these choices seems to have been an easy fit. This new elite seems to have found itself between pressures to become more fully Polish and other definitions of Ruthenianness connected with the Cossacks and the brotherhoods. The focus in this study will be on the question of the relationship of the Ruthenian elite to Polish civilization.[17]

It may be useful to compare visions of the Ruthenian question as seen from the Polish "right" and the Polish "left." The Polish Catholic "right," led by the Jesuits and especially Piotr Skarga, sent out to the Orthodox an invitation to Unity. The Roman Catholics challenged Rus′ to recognize its identity in "harmony" with the Polish Catholic one. Once this unity of faith had been achieved, in Skarga's vision, a certain well-circumscribed difference could then be tolerated:

> For the Church of God is clothed in variance (without contradiction), like a queen in colors of various cloths and stones and pearls . . . And yet the holy Church sees this gladly and allows it, so long as a different faith not be made by this, and the unity of the holy Church not be rent.[18]

The governing image was that of "One shepherd and one flock," where the shepherd was the pope, but also the Polish king, and the flock was those in communion with Rome, but also citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian state. In Skarga's vision—and this would become the dominant one—confessional unity was the precondition for political unity; it was this vision that was eventually able to equate Roman Catholic orthodoxy with patriotism and heterodoxy with treason. Skarga was among those who, in other contexts, spoke out publicly against the confessional toleration present in Polish society and foretold Poland's demise precisely because of that confessional policy.[19]

The example of Skarga must stand here for many of the voices associated with the Polish Counter-Reformation. This threat from the "right" was clear, and leaders of the Orthodox Church—and also, to different degrees and in different ways, leaders of the Uniate Church—portrayed their actions as a defense of Ruthenian difference. A large portion of Ruthenian society, including a newly forming elite, perceived the Catholic call to unity as a challenge to Ruthenian identity under the pretext of harmony and toleration. Their reaction gave rise to what might be called (by analogy with the so-called Catholic Reform) an Orthodox Slavic Reform.

But the Polish "left" offered a vision of unity within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that was hardly less threatening to Ruthenian difference. In their competition with the Catholics for rhetorical and real control of the noble

Republic, some Antitrinitarians envisaged an "open" Commonwealth that accepted as equals those (members of the gentry) who, from the various religions and ethnicities found in the Commonwealth, had a will to be made equal. Here it was the rhetoric of tolerance that was the threat to Ruthenian identity. This was not "simply rhetoric": these were some of the theoreticians and practitioners of tolerance who are treated with justified pride in Polish historiography on the age of confessionalism.[20] I do not mean to minimize their significance. Still, the heterodox were, on the whole, no more ready than the Catholics to consider the Ruthenians equal participants in the debates, nor did they take Ruthenian difference seriously. The Ruthenians were there to be instructed and assimilated.

Again, one example will have to stand for many. Consider the Antitrinitarian Andrzej Lubieniecki and his portrayal of Poland-Lithuania in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Lubieniecki called his work *Poloneutychia,* a Latin-Greek neologism meaning something like "Polish happiness."[21] In it, he drew a picture of amazing confessional differences in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the sixteenth century. There were Roman Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Tatars, Karaim, Tritheists, Ditheists, Paedobaptists, Anabaptists, Neo-Baptists, Moravian Brethren, Schwenkfeldians, and the list continued. And yet, Lubieniecki was certain that only one of these groups, and that by no means one of the larger, was the true religion, and he expressed satisfaction—glee, almost—at the gradual disappearance of differences.[22] The key to this process was the wisely tolerant King Sigismund August, who knew how to defuse quarrels with a gentle joke and who simply allowed the many groups to argue themselves out. Writing in the 1610s, Lubieniecki warned of Poland's demise precisely because of its intolerant confessional policy.[23]

What is important for my argument is that Lubieniecki's tolerance was equaled or surpassed by his abhorrence of disunity. Here is his model of "Polish happiness":

> For who does not see how this can be considered a great happiness, when the Lord God Himself, the ruler of earthly governments, joins as in one body several tens of principalities of various religions, languages, nature, and customs, and gives them one head, one lord, and as if one father, so many sons of different mothers, different practice and languages and religions, who, loving all equally, showing them the same love, has the same concern for them, and maintains them in good government, freedom, provision, harmony, and comfort?[24]

Yet Lubieniecki's ultimate vision was of a Commonwealth united politically and confessionally. The purpose of bringing together so many different sons was not to foster their differences, but so that their differences might disappear. He argued eloquently against the use of force in matters of conscience, saying that "there is nothing more voluntary than religion."[25] Therefore, it would be necessary to wait peacefully for those in error to recognize the truth. In this

way, Lubieniecki was also able to use the favorite proof text of the Catholics and the Uniates—"One shepherd and one flock" (Lubieniecki 1982, 51); but as a non-Catholic and a member of a politically weak confession, he used it in a political sense first of all: Let us all be free Poles; God's truth will eventually carry the day.

Where did the Ruthenians fit in for Lubieniecki? Their only fully-recognized role was to become political Poles, to accept Polish freedom and happiness.[26] Otherwise, Ruthenians (who were barely mentioned in Lubieniecki's narration) were represented as peasant members of a debased religion: Lubieniecki portrayed the Ruthenians as Jews finding their false Messiah in Michael the Brave, Palatine of Wallachia and "Restorer of Dacia."[27] Beyond this, Ruthenians played no active role in the *Poloneutychia:* there was no mention of the Union of Brest and no mention of Orthodox attempts to establish an accepted Orthodox identity in Poland-Lithuania. And note that in his survey of confessions in the Commonwealth, Lubieniecki had subsumed the Ruthenians—if he thought of them as a separate group at all—under the heading of the Greeks.

The common thread between both sides of the Polish confessional spectrum was an agreement that Ruthenians were not only different, but inferior, and should not only be received into unity, but raised up in the process. If Greeks were *crafty,* crude, and stubborn, then the Ruthenians—so the stereotype had it—were *foolish,* crude, and stubborn. This public opinion about life in the eastern lands of the Commonwealth also ran the confessional gamut. The Jesuit Skarga wrote of "simple Rus′," deceived by the crafty Greeks.[28] The radical Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny, who had lived and proselytized among the Orthodox, was even less delicate in representing his neighbors: in a letter to the Swiss Calvinist leader Heinrich Bullinger he described Rus′ as "the admirer and most diligent imitator, or rather, the most superstitious ape, of all Greek superstitions."[29]

The self-identified Roxolanian, Stanisław Orzechowski, painted a picture of similar crudeness: until it had been brought to civilization by the Poles, Rus′ "differed little from the Scythians in people and in customs";[30] under Polish rule, the "Ruthenian wastelands" had become filled with "people, plowmen, small towns, and villages."[31] Orzechowski had neutralized his Ruthenianness to the extent that he could now play the country bumpkin, the Ruthenian prophet, the backwoods philosopher in his Polish and Latin self-representations to the Republic of Letters.[32] This was, in many regards, the kind of assimilated, acculturated, acconfessionalized Ruthenian that was held up as a model in contemporary Polish political and historical writing.

Of course, Orzechowski remained in several other regards in uncomfortable relations with the Catholic mainstream. Here was a man who had flirted with Protestantism in his youth, later taken holy orders as a Catholic priest and then soon after a wife—only to go on to conduct battles against both his own bishop, in defense of his marriage, and against the heterodox, in defense of the Catholic

order in Poland.[33] At crucial points he found he could make polemical use of his Orthodox roots.[34] These appeals to Orthodox arguments might be used as evidence for Orzechowski's Ruthenian identity. But I would ask here, to what degree this version of Ruthenianness had been assimilated to Polishness? This was the sort of Ruthenian identity—that traditionally represented by the motto *gente ruthenus, natione polonus*—that was congenial to the dominant version of Polish-Lithuanian society in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and which can be used today in painting pictures of an easy fit of ethnicities and confessions in the Commonwealth. But other versions of Ruthenianness were in varying degrees of conflict with society, and it is this Ruthenian unease in Poland-Lithuania to which I wish to draw attention here.

There were sexual-political aspects implicated in problems of Ruthenian identity. For the Catholic Orzechowski, the appropriation and enlightenment of Rus' came with the conquest of the fertile lands of Red Ruthenia by Polish knights and with their marriages with Ruthenian women; out of one such union came Orzechowski himself.[35] The Antitrinitarian Lubieniecki saw fit to record as an active role for Ruthenians only the example of the wife of Ivan Tyškevyč, who received literally marginal recognition as the faithful Ruthenian wife who stood by her convert-husband as he became an Antitrinitarian martyr.[36] Rus' was on its way to becoming—in some Polish representations of it, at any rate—a passive and fertile land of women and peasants.

Fear that this might be the case, that the Ruthenian nation would thus be excluded from participation in the Noble Republic, was one of the things that drew a response from the Ruthenian elite at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. While some continued to assimilate, others attempted a variety of paths—within both the Orthodox and the Uniate Churches—to define and defend an acceptable, but still recognizable, Ruthenian otherness. All who played the game from the Ruthenian side began on the defensive, played according to rules established in Poland and the West in the age of confessionalism, and—this is the important point here—frequently betrayed what must have been deep-seated and pervasive insecurities.

One aspect of this insecurity was a fear of being linked with Muscovy in the minds of the Polish elite. Contemporary Ukrainian scholarship—in response to long-established Great Russian, Soviet, and post-Soviet interpretative traditions—has been at pains to demonstrate the lack of identity between Muscovy and Rus' in seventeenth-century usage. This is certainly true: contemporaries drew a firm border between Rus' and Muscovy. This fact, however, should not make us unaware of contemporary perceptions (on Polish and Ruthenian sides, at the least) of a potential link between Ruthenian and Muscovite sensibilities and interests, or of the implications of this potential link for Ruthenian insecurities in their dealings with Poles.

One extreme Polish vision of Muscovy (one which, again, was silent about Rus') appeared in a curious work entitled *A Muscovite New Year's Present, That Is, the Proper Reasons for a Muscovite War, the Desired Occasion, the*

Great Hope of Victory, and the Benefits and Heretofore Unestimated Riches of That Domain Briefly Described (Cracow, 1609), the author of which was a certain Paweł Palczowski.[37] In this twice-published lengthy diatribe, the Polish envoy and former prisoner of the Muscovite state painted a picture of fantastic barbarity among "Muscovite cannibals,"[38] whose ruler, the "ugly Muscovite beast . . . reeks of garlic, onion, rotgut, or finally, like a dog dead for several days, and has his hands constantly befouled with the blood of his subjects, over whom he rules in no other wise but always as a tyrant."[39] The point of Palczowski's *New Year's Gift* was to set up an equation by analogy: Muscovy was to Poland as the East and West Indies were to Spain and Portugal (Palczowski 1609, B2^{r-v}, F2^{v}). Poland's mission was to bring Christianity and civilization to the Muscovites (who were not Christians: Palczowski devoted several pages to answering this eventual objection[40]) and to reap the economic benefits of subjecting a land rich in resources.

Muscovy was, according to Skarga, *even more backward* than Rus′; thus—and this was his point—Rus′ had no need to look for spiritual enlightenment to these pseudo-brethren (who were "quite half in idolatry and, what follows from that, have fallen into evil and profane manners").[41] This was a theme that reappeared, for example, in the Uniate Smotryc′kyj, who envisaged a spiritual and cultural revival of all of Orthodox Slavdom fueled by Ruthenian schools, books, and scholar-priests. Smotryc′kyj sought to distinguish Rus′ from its Orthodox brethren: Rus′ was both free and learned, Muscovy was free but ignorant, the rest labored in benighted servitude.[42]

Thus when Orthodox and Uniate Ruthenians declared their loyalty to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and to its golden freedom, they were certainly partially expressing genuinely held beliefs; but they were also trying to suppress any thoughts that they might be linked somehow to that not only unlearned, but even cannibalistic, un-Christian, and tyrannical East. We should not be surprised that, as the party most vulnerable on this issue, the Orthodox Ruthenians were often louder than the Uniates in their public Polish-Lithuanian patriotism. For example, in the polemic over the restoration of the Orthodox Church hierarchy in 1620, one strategy the Orthodox side employed in its attempts to prove its loyalty to the Commonwealth was to demonstrate the willingness of the Cossacks to fight for Polish interests in Moscow.[43] The only sometimes unexpressed charge toward which such arguments were directed was that of a secret Ruthenian-Muscovite political solidarity.

But even if Rus′ could slam the back door firmly shut, there was still the barbarian—or at least the bumpkin—lurking within. Skarga's assurances that Rus′ was less unlearned than Muscovy, and Smotryc′kyj's vision of Rus′ as leading the way for the rest of Orthodox Slavdom, both acknowledged a potential link with Muscovy by denying it, and they assumed Ruthenian backwardness with respect to what all of the Catholic and nearly all the Orthodox elite accepted as the norm: that of the Latin West, here in its Polish instantiation.

Ruthenian insecurities were thus both political and cultural or civilizational. As the Orthodox metropolitan of Kyiv Peter Mohyla wrote in his reply to Sakovyč: "they [i.e., the Poles] always allege against Rus′ that they do not study, wherefore they are simpletons and not politic."[44] *Nie są politykami:* the word—*polityk*—has come to mean 'politician' in modern Polish usage, but it, along with related words such as *policja* ('police') and *polityczny* ('political'), could also draw one set of meanings from their etymological root *polis* (Greek 'city'). Thus they sometimes signified the presence of urbanity, polish, and manners, as opposed to the rustic lack of manners. This was what Mohyla had in mind. In repeating this Polish claim about the Ruthenian lack of manners, Mohyla was acknowledging the presence of a set of rules for civilized behavior to which Poles adhered (or were supposed to adhere) and against which Ruthenians might be judged civilized or uncivilized.

What we witness here are aspects of what Norbert Elias called the civilizing process.[45] For the peripheries of Europe, this process, ridden with internal conflicts in its very nature, was doubly painful in that it implied not only the acquisition of a set of manners informed by rules of self-control, but also the recognition of a center that was elsewhere, a center where these manners came more "naturally." Provincials could acquire these manners only with great effort and could never be confident in their control. Of course, individuals in some centers felt themselves on the periphery of other centers and were thus much less comfortable than their "own" provincials might have imagined them to be.

Consider the Polish case and the Polish-Ruthenian relationship. To what extent did the patriotic Sarmatian rhetoric of the Renaissance and Baroque seek to cover Polish insecurities toward a center that was elsewhere? How easy was it—despite Łukasz Górnicki's 1566 Polish version of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano*—to be a *Polish* courtier?[46] How do we reconcile histories that told of the world-renowned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth[47] with the more private acknowledgments by some of its sons that in "the world" one found learned people who thought *Polonia* was a city like unto *Bononia*?[48] Such feelings of insecurity may have caused Poles to draw all the more firmly the border between civilization and barbarity, between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy.[49]

However uneasy Polish civilization may have been, the mainstream of the Ruthenian elite began to acknowledge it as, in many regards, its own model. For the Ruthenian elite, Orthodox and Uniate, one of the main roads to civilization lay through the linguistic (and, thus, the cultural) realms of Latin and Polish, and not through those of Greek, Slavonic, or Ruthenian. The Athonite monk Ivan Vyšens′kyj was offering a viewpoint from the margins of Ruthenian society when he answered Skarga's challenge by *embracing* a vision of Orthodox Ruthenian-Greek foolishness for Christ's sake and opposing to it the Polish-Latin worldly wisdom that was foolishness with God.[50] The Ruthenian mainstream still pledged allegiance to Greek and Slavonic authorities for what

we might term patriotic reasons, but their function had become that of public *programmatic* authorities for the faith; they had little *practical* significance outside the Church books, and even in that realm Latin sources now played important roles.

Ruthenian, the forgotten language among the elite, soon became a cause of further insecurities. In the preface to a new Ruthenian Homiliary Gospel, a postil-like work that was supposed to supplant Saint Rej and Saint Wujek in the hands of Orthodox preachers,[51] Meletij Smotryc'kyj drew an analogy that equated the relationship of Ruthenian to Slavonic with that of Polish to Latin.[52] In so doing, he was, for programmatic, patriotic reasons, giving expression to something about which he himself had doubts or, perhaps, to a situation he had hopes might eventually arise and toward which his own efforts might lead. Smotryc'kyj himself, somewhat older than Mohyla and Sakovyč, already wrote almost exclusively in Polish, and when he referred in that same preface to "our simple Ruthenian language," one wonders whether he was simply calling it a *lingua vulgaris* or whether he was also calling it crude.[53] When Mohyla sought to alert Rus' to its potential "un-politic-ness," he wrote first of all of the need for the Orthodox to become fluent in Latin and Polish. The reasons had to do with both practical necessity and good manners: imagine both the chances for success of, and the figure cut by, the Ruthenian litigant in a Polish-Lithuanian court who attempted to argue his case in Ruthenian, Church Slavonic, or Greek! Ruthenians, in Mohyla's view, had to become Latin-Polish orators.[54]

Early on in the confessional-cultural polemic, all participants—Roman Catholic, Protestant, Uniate, and Orthodox—abandoned Ruthenian for Polish.[55] Thus Uniate Ruthenians, Orthodox Ruthenians, and, in Sakovyč's case, Roman Catholic Ruthenians, were now addressing each other in Polish, so that the dominant party—Roman Catholic Poles—were always a potential audience for supposedly internecine debates. And the Ruthenian parties often behaved in their mutual addresses as if they assumed big brother was watching and listening.

Again, it is the potential for insecure behavior that is of interest here. It is, of course, well known that by the early seventeenth century, Ruthenians had begun to write in Polish; the reason has often been sought in something positive, or at least in a positive response to an unfortunate necessity—in the search for a potential Polish-reading audience that could have ranged up the social scale to the king. Although there is certainly some truth to this "positive" evaluation, we should not neglect the negative side—the possibility that it was a sort of shame that caused Ruthenians to switch to Polish. Whatever the reasons for the switch, once the Ruthenians were writing in Polish, insecurities continued to play themselves out at a linguistic level. Let us return one last time to the anecdote about the Orthodox priest and his copy of the sermons of Saint Rej. More than a little of the humor was linguistic. Sakovyč told the story in Polish (the entire work was written in that language), but he made the priest say his bit in Ruthenian (albeit in Latin letters) and without translation. That is, he identified the country bumpkin by his speech.

When polemicists from either side cited evidence from Church Slavonic liturgical texts (again, in Latin letters), they frequently provided Polish translations immediately following.[56] Ruthenian textual material, on the other hand, was rarely glossed. Functioning on all sides in the Polish linguistic context as an immediately recognizable mark of stylistic, intellectual, cultural, and ethnic baseness, it was assumed intelligible to readers of Polish. In some cases, as in that of Sakovyč's anecdote, it was subsumed by Polish, becoming a lower stylistic level of the more cultivated language.

It might be objected that Sakovyč's Latin-letter representation of spoken Ruthenian was not the same as the clearly more dignified Cyrillic-letter language of texts identified as written in the "Ruthenian vulgar tongue." But against this position I would suggest that Ruthenian existed as a separate written language, referred to as such, largely thanks to the Cyrillic alphabet. Without the graphic transferal from Latin to Cyrillic scripts it is difficult to imagine that there would have been any printed works in the early seventeenth century that advertised themselves as "translated from Polish into Ruthenian." If our poor priest "thought in Cyrillic" as he read from, and adapted for his Orthodox audience, the Polish-language sermons of Mikołaj Rej, in what manner did his oral performance differ from the written performances of Smotryc'kyj, Mohyla, Sakovyč, and others, who translated, adapted, and based themselves upon Polish texts and models when they composed in Ruthenian?[57]

Thus, although the "politic" Ruthenian elite wrote generally unaccented Polish, they must at times have been subject to the fear that an inadvertent slip could reveal their rusticality. Actually, it became part of the rhetorical arsenal of the polemic for each side to "help" the other out by uncovering the opponent's Ruthenianness through linguistic signs, as if to say to the implied Polish and Polish-reading audience—"he's the bumpkin, not me." This was the point of the joke, when, for example, the Orthodox Smotryc'kyj put the Uniate Metropolitan of Kyiv, Josyf Ruc'kyj, in his place by telling him that no "Ivan" (that is to say, a generic Ruthenian) had any business pretending to be an Ivo (of Chartres); and since both names were in the genitive case, they provided an incongruous Polish "rhyme": *Iwana* and *Iwona.*[58] This was a joke thanks to the juxtaposition of cultural "opposites": a stock character, the Ruthenian bumpkin Ivan, and a historical figure of some import, the renowned eleventh-century bishop and authority on canon law, Saint Ivo of Chartres. And remember that Smotryc'kyj made this Ruthenian joke while writing for the Orthodox side (although in Polish), and as a member of its Church hierarchy.

A similar role was played by the forms of address Mohyla directed at Sakovyč from time to time in the course of his polemic. In the midst of his Polish text, Mohyla would include one or two words in the vocative case, insulting epithets, with recognizably Ruthenian morphemes, although intelligible to Polish readers: "shut your mug, *panie mudrohelu* [sir wise one]";[59] "dear *premudry* [most wise] mathematician."[60] It was as if by changing *mądry* to *mudry,* one could call someone not wise, but an idiot (and a Ruthenian idiot

at that). And, again: these were (Orthodox) Ruthenians writing in answer to (Uniate and Roman Catholic) Ruthenians for a Polish-reading audience.

What I have sought to demonstrate through the preceding discussion is that the preconditions existed for something we might call, in its most extreme manifestations, Ruthenian self-hatred: the fear of this weakly situated minority, and especially the fear of its newly forming intellectual elite, that it would reveal itself as uncivilized, and perhaps also disloyal, in the face both of direct challenges to its existence and of offers of a well-delimited sort of toleration. This ethno-confessional insecurity was encouraged as much by the positions of the intolerant right as by those of the tolerant left. Much changed, of course, over the period I have briefly surveyed, from the reigns of Sigismund August to Władysław IV and across swings between relative tolerance and intolerance toward the Ruthenians. The insecurities I have described were certainly not felt equally strongly over this period by every individual nor across social classes. Nonetheless, I would argue, these insecurities were a fact of public life for Ruthenians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They had their roots in the age of confessional controversy, and they grew stronger with each attempt to draw lines between the confessional camps more clearly. They were there to be manipulated in public debate, and any Ruthenian who took part in public life beyond his own village must have been potentially—and, as time went on, increasingly—subject to them.

This seems to have been a part, perhaps a significant part, of what motivated Kasijan Sakovyč toward the end of his life, and perhaps also in his earlier conversion from Orthodoxy to the Uniate Church. Certainly his writings of 1641 to 1644, that is, in the years immediately preceding and following his conversion from the Uniate to the Roman Catholic Church, were shaped by a loathing toward every aspect of Ruthenian political, cultural, and confessional difference.

Let us begin with the political. The Orthodox, in Sakovyč's representations, were potential traitors. In a Uniate work from this period he warned that the so-called stauropegial brotherhoods, those that had been removed from episcopal control and placed directly under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, were a "*periculum* [peril] to the Fatherland";[61] the Turkish sultan, he argued, "would not allow the Polish king to establish in his domain any sort of brotherhoods and to rule them. Then why does the Polish king have to allow the Turko-Greek patriarch to found brotherhoods in his domain and to rule them?"[62] As he wrote in the dedication of his *Epanorthosis,* "the true faith is as the single pillar upon which not only our salvation, but also the integrity of the Commonwealth is supported and founded."[63]

Further, according to Sakovyč, Rus' was not only potentially disloyal, but also ignorant:

> In the single city of Cracow, Vilnius, Lviv, Lublin, Poznań, or Warsaw I can safely say that in one large monastery there are more learned men and theologians than in all of Rus'.[64]

Sakovyč wrote of the "idiot *pop*,"[65] of the "simpleton *pop*,"[66] of "simple Rus' in villages and little towns,"[67] of the "simplicity of crude Rus',"[68] and of the "foolish Ruthenian."[69]

It was common for writers of the period to apologize for employing the vulgar tongue rather than Latin, for using an unadorned style rather than the art of rhetoric (although, of course, this apology itself—the so-called *topos modestiae*—signaled a familiarity with rhetorical commonplaces). Sakovyč carried his apology one characteristic step further, motivating his use of *sermo humilis* (although it was Polish, and not Ruthenian) by denigrating his audience: he wrote "not elegantly, but simply, since it was a matter of crude Greco-Ruthenian errors, crudely for the crude."[70] He represented Rus' as a peasant nation with "peasant understanding,"[71] and he introduced stock characters and allowed them to act out Ruthenian stupidity in a Polish context: "*mowit Hryc do Iwana* . . . " (*Ruthenian,* "Hryc says to Ivan . . . "; Sakovyč 1641b, 28). One imagines here the opening lines for an early modern Ruthenian stand-up comic playing before a Polish audience. While this crudeness was located above all in the Orthodox, Sakovyč was increasingly willing to find such qualities in the Uniates as well, even though, he allowed, they counted more learned people among them than their Orthodox brethren.[72]

In one short Polish work, a *Dialogue,* Sakovyč presented a conversation on the topic of the old and new calendars between two citizens of Vilnius, a Roman Catholic named Maciek and an Orthodox *pop* named Dionisij. The ironic Ruthenian-language subtitle—*Premudrost Otca Dionisia* ["The 'Wisdom' of Father Dionisij"]—made it clear, in case there was any doubt, who was to carry the day. (The Ruthenians' "wisdom" was foolishness with the Poles and with Sakovyč.) Maciek spoke Polish in this dialogue, Dionisij Ruthenian (although there was no graphic distinction between the Latin letters used to represent both languages). The constantly repeated gag of the conversation showed Dionisij misinterpreting Maciek's Polish in ways that pointed to Ruthenian foolishness, and Maciek pretending to misunderstand Dionisij's Ruthenian, thus establishing Polish wisdom. Maciek spoke of *matematyka* ("mathematics") and *komput* ("computation"); Dionisij heard *matyka* (something approximating the modern Belarusian *matyka,* "hoe" [cf. Polish and Ukrainian *motyka*) and *kapiut* (perhaps a third person plural for a verb like the the modern Belarussian *kapác',* "to dig" [cf. Polish *kopać* and Ukrainian *kopaty*]); Maciek responded in mock agreement that Dionisij should stick to *motyka* and not talk about astronomical subtleties he could not understand.[73] The Catholic Pole claimed ignorance of the debased language—"That's Ruthenian, and I don't know how to *hlaholiti* ["to speak," but really "to talk jargon," since the verb is Ruthenian, not Polish]"[74]—all the time taunting Dionisij with Ruthenian forms of address: "O dear *Batko* ["father"], you certainly have cabbage brains . . . tell me *mudry* ["wise"] father."[75]

Sakovyč's vision of the world was full of what seem self-contradictions: here it was crucial for a cultivated, patriotic Ruthenian to demonstrate differ-

ence from the Orthodox.[76] The crucial sign of Ruthenian backwardness became the old calendar that not only the Orthodox but also the Uniates continued to use. This was, for him, a minimal distinguishing mark between true Uniates and Orthodox: "without agreement [with the Romans] in the calendar, there is no sign of that Ruthenian Union with the Roman Church, for the Union maintains all the rites and ceremonies as the Disunion."[77] Here, too, the Ruthenian fool was made to spout his wisdom:

> Boors sometimes say: "supposedly in the Ruthenian lands the sun and the moon make their course across the heavens one way and in a different way in the Polish lands; and in Rus' they *deržat* [hold] in Ruthenian fashion, but among the Poles they go Polish fashion."[78]

This provided Sakovyč with the opportunity to poke more fun at Ruthenian superstitions. There was, he noted, "a saying about the Ruthenian month, that when someone threatens someone else with beating or punishment, then he says: 'You will lie for a Ruthenian month'." This allowed him to express mock horror: "By God, how heavy and terrible is that Ruthenian month. I know that Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Podolian miles are greater than the Polish, as are also measures, bushels, and ells." But if, Sakovyč reached his main point, "the Ruthenian days and months were greater than the Polish," then the Ruthenians would be in danger of acting like the foolish virgins who had forgotten to take with them oil for their lamps (cf. Mt. 25:1–12).[79] Anyone who knew the parable was in a position to understand the lesson for the day: the Ruthenians with their old calendar knew neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh.

With the saying concerning the "Ruthenian month," Sakovyč was tapping into a body of popular wisdom that was beginning to represent Rus' as an exotic place of fascination and fear, a kind of "Wild East" for Poland-Lithuania. In the course of the Polish-Ruthenian encounter, a number of proverb-like sayings have come into use. The Polish "Indian giver" was a "Ruthenian giver": "the Ruthenian gift—given today, taken tomorrow."[80] Poles warned: "speak with a Ruthenian, but keep a rock up your sleeve"[81] and "whoever cheats a Ruthenian will become a wise man."[82] People were characterized as "stubborn as a Ruthenian,"[83] or "crafty as a Ruthenian."[84] Rus' became the land of magic: "if there is no sorcery in this, then there is none in Rus'."[85] Polish immigrants to Rus' cautioned that "even in Rus' one must labor."[86] And according to the most colorful of the *dicta* I have encountered: "In Rus', even though you sow Jesuits, still it is bandits that will grow."[87] It seems to have been the late sixteenth century that marked the establishment of these sorts of stereotypes, as the Poles began to move into Rus' in greater numbers after the Union of Lublin in 1569 and as the Ruthenian month indeed became "longer" (or, rather, ten days later) with the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in the Catholic portions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1582.[88]

A comparison with the Uniate Smotryc'kyj, who was Sakovyč's model in much of his writing, is instructional here. Smotryc'kyj wrote against the "errors

and heresies of schismatic Rus'." It was a phrase he used over and over. Sakovyč borrowed from Smotryc'kyj wholesale and verbatim, but wherever the archbishop had spoken of "errors and heresies" (*błędy y herezye*) the archimandrite spoke of the "errors, heresies, and *superstitions* of schismatic Rus'" (*błędy, herezye, y zabobony*). Here, too, with the addition of superstitions to the characteristics of Rus', Sakovyč was mouthing Polish ethno-confessional stereotypes which situated Rus' in the barbaric East.

A psychiatrist might be tempted to focus on the physical aspects of his patient's abhorrence for things Ruthenian and seek its roots in his earliest experiences as the son of a Ruthenian *pop,* the figure that provided the constant target for his bitter remarks. Sakovyč, as is well known, was missing one ear. Mohyla was merciless in his polemic, asking the archimandrite "where is your ear hidden that you used to have?"[89] And he made fun of his logic: "It is only through your earless reason that this prayer cannot be a form of the sacrament, and your *consequentia* [conclusion] is this: Kasijan is minus an ear, *ergo pluet* [therefore, it is raining]."[90] Moreover, Mohyla jeered, "it would thus be more fitting for you to discourse about the pigs that ate your ear, than to establish new forms of the sacraments."[91] Mohyla also attempted to set the rumor-mill in motion: "people say various things about it [the ear]."[92] Sakovyč became irritated enough at Mohyla's attacks on his physiognomy to offer, in one of the many hand-written marginal annotations in his own copy of *Lithos,* a lengthy account of how he came to lack an ear:

> When Mohyla, the schismatic metropolitan, runs out of arguments concerning the tonsure and the keeping of the hair, then he has recourse to my ear, which he repeats so many times in many passages, as if wishing to bring me and my Catholic writings to shame. But know, *kakodox* Mohyla, that even if you had three or even four eyes and two noses, but you do not have a head, and yet you say, where is my ear: there are many worthy and noble people, both secular and spiritual, who either in sickness or through some chance occurrence, lose some member, an eye or a finger, or a nose, or an ear, but this does not harm their good fame, although it causes ugliness to the body. So learn that when I was yet in diapers in the cradle a half year old it was my fate that I was deprived of an ear by a hog from the cradle, in which it was not my fault at all, but that of the person who was entrusted with watching me.[93]

Sakovyč was practically silent about his father the *pop,* even in his marginal annotations to passages where Mohyla claimed that his opponent had his slanderous examples of the crudity of Ruthenian Church life straight from his father's Church and parish.[94]

Whatever the psychological motivation for it, it is difficult to overlook Sakovyč's fascination with, and abhorrence for, the physical in his criticism of Ruthenian life. Here again we are in the realm of manners, and what we find is an indictment of Ruthenian Church life—in addition to doctrinal and ordinal deviations—for failing to adhere to a set of rules governing civilized behavior. These passages would make a long list, and they come as something of a shock

to readers accustomed to the mostly arid theological hair-splitting that had come to characterize the confessional debate.

Sakovyč offered arguments from the physical realm in every polemical context. In the *Dialogue,* Dionisij's Ruthenian reinterpretations of the Polish words he did not understand had brought him from the realm of mathematics and stellar computations to that of hoes and digging. An argument against celebrating Easter according to the old calendar was the "great quantity of rotten fish and herring" Maciek noticed in the Vilnius town square on his way to his conversation with Dionisij.[95] In a less than perfect piece of Polish poetry (Sakovyč was no Kochanowski, to whom he deferred as a "Poeta *perfectissimus* polski [most perfect Polish poet]"[96]), Maciek addressed Rus′:

> The poor herrings now roast in the sun,
> So long have your days of fast dragged on.
> Nay, soon even herrings will not stay,
> If you the Lord's Rising so delay.
> Know by such a clear clock at the least,
> When you ought to celebrate the Feast.[97]

Arguments on the sacraments became equally material. Orthodox priests "keep the oil of chrism in ugly and contaminated *mirnice* or vessels."[98] Further, "in many places instead of communion bread, the *pop*s buy for themselves those wheaten rolls in the market square."[99] Still further, "it is a well-known thing that many *pop*s celebrate with vinegar and apple- or pear-kvas instead of wine. And even if it is with wine, then it is mouldy and sour, for the *pop* wishes to serve with this quart of wine for up to half a year or even longer."[100]

Orthodox beards in their proximity to the sacraments provided an abiding object of fascination and disgust. Dionisij (Maciej's collocutor) harbored lice in his.[101] Others' were full of the Lord's blood and hid ulcerous mouths:

> And sometimes yet another *pop*'s hand shakes, either from age or from drunkenness . . . If a drop of the Lord's blood were to drip onto a kerchief or anything, then they order that it be cut to pieces and burned. More than one, not only peasant, but also mustachioed and bearded *pop,* who rinse their mustaches and beards in the blood of the Lord, would have to have their mustaches and beards burned.
>
> Third, those spoons are sometimes very broad, and someone, male or female, does not know how to open their mouths, but even compresses their mouths, whereby *necessarie* [necessarily] the blood of the Lord pours out around his mouth. Yet another has a mouth overgrown like a forest, such that the *pop* can barely find his mouth, and the blood of the Lord must necessarily douse the mustache before it makes it into the mouth. This has often been the case in many localities.
>
> Fourth, that sometimes another will have an unclean mouth and ulcerated lips, and he will receive the sacrament with a spoon, then it is disgusting for the one following him to take from the same spoon, nay even dangerous.
>
> Fifth, another bumpkin will drip saliva from his mouth onto the spoon such that it is disgusting to watch.[102]

Sakovyč picked up the theme again a few pages later, speaking here of the custom of crumbling pieces of the body of Christ into the chalice:

> And another pours all the particles, of which there are sometimes up to thirty or even more, and not small at that, into the chalice, such that sometimes there will be nearly half a chalice full of them; then he takes that from the spoon and raises it like some sort of borscht to his mouth; and another has his mustache and beard full of the blood of the Lord, nay even of the crumbs themselves, and then he smacks his mustache, and since he stuffed so many of those particles into the chalice, he almost gets drunk; then as there was difficulty in their consumption, no less is also the difficulty in cleaning the chalice of them, whereby water is poured in time after time; sometimes he even reaches with a finger to take the crumbs out of the chalice. And finally, which is a disgusting thing to hear, he tidies up the chalice with a black, dirtied, mouldy sponge, whereby also some crumb of the sacrament can be scooped up into the sponge. And then, he sucks on that sponge and slurps the wetness out of it. I do not know what sort of *natura* [nature] is so crude that it can bear *tantam nauseam, tandem* [so much nausea; finally] he will hang that sponge on the wall, upon which flies, spiders crawl, defile, and leave their nets about, and then throughout a week the sponge moulders from that dampness.[103]

I have cited these rather chaotic passages in some completeness and at some length in order to convey a sense of the associative frenzy that seems to have taken over Sakovyč whenever he launched into topics of physical disgust.

Sakovyč's train of thought sometimes led him from the simply physical to the physically sexual. I cite here part of a long and unusual series of associations that led from uncovered chalices to uncovered bodies:

> They do not cover the chalice, but it stands uncovered upon the altar until they open the royal doors, whence a fly, spider, spiderweb, dust and ash, etc., can fall into the chalice. And since I also mentioned ash, for there are in some churches great fireplaces or bellows upon which elders or boys fan the fire with fans, and that ash disperses over the entire altar, and they fan that flame for the censer, for they cense during the liturgy itself seven or nine times . . . And men cense the fair sex, and another one of the fair sex will even open up her gown and her fur-coat, so that he cense her, and on particular places: that censing comes out well for the *pop.*[104]

An annotation that Sakovyč wrote into the margin of his copy of Mohyla's *Lithos* argued at great length against the practice of exchanging kisses with the priest at the Easter mass, again partially on grounds of sexual aesthetics:

> I now return to the matter I had taken up concerning the kissing of the *pop,* saying that it is a most improper and unfitting ceremony, which, if it ever was in the Catholic Church, has been cast out of it, and abandoned and trampled under foot by the Uniate Church. If it pleases you schismatics, *pop*s and bishops, then remain by it. However, give your *pop*s a break, offer them some sort of relief in this, let the poor fellow not suffer such great fatigue from all these kissers, male and female. Divide them into two groups, and this for this

> reason: since the *pop* and the *popadia* [i.e., "wife of the *pop*"] are one, and whoever kisses the *popadia* as if kisses the *pop,* therefore let some kiss the *pop* and the others the *popadia*. Only that there will be a quarrel, for certainly all the men and boys would wish to kiss the *popadia,* and the women and girls the *pop,* which would be not a little distasteful to both the *popadia* and the *pop,* for sometimes the *pop* will be old, and the *popadia* young, or the *pop* young and the *popadia* old. Concluding this paragraph, I say that it is a disgusting ceremony, this kissing of the *pop* that is performed in the schismatic Church during such a feast of the Lord's Resurrection. Nonetheless, if this disgusting ceremony has already so pleased you that boys and girls kiss you (for this is a tasty bit even for the bishops, for they kiss them too), then at least have them kiss you on the hand and not on the face.[105]

It is worth noting in this connection the frequency with which Sakovyč specified that his generic examples applied to both sexes ("male and female kissers"; "yet another, male or female"), when most of his contemporaries would have limited themselves to the masculine. This, again, may indicate a discomort with physical aspects of Ruthenian Church life.

In short (and one could cite much more in this vein), Sakovyč's Rus' was peopled with priests who poured borscht instead of wine into chalices,[106] priests who drank all night and served mass with the shakes (Mohyla 1893, 45; Sakovyč 1642b, 7), priests who smacked their lips, hacked, coughed, and spit during the liturgy (Mohyla 1893, 78, 339), priests who got into fights within the sanctuary and pulled on each other's beards (Mohyla 1893, 158), priests who saved up pieces of communion bread and fed their families and their pigs with them (Mohyla 1893, 158).

I end this much abbreviated survey of Sakovyč's sense of Ruthenian realia with a flourish that also captures something of the level of the exchange. In expressing his abhorrence of Orthodox prayer postures, Sakovyč wrote that "their kneeling is un-politic (*nie polityczne*) and incorrect, for, having placed their heads on the ground, they stick out like cannons trained backwards."[107] And Mohyla responded "tit for tat" ("*wet za wet*"), claiming that these cannons were the weapons of the Orthodox, aimed at Sakovyč and his like.[108]

There is, of course, no smoking gun here, no possible proof that it was something like self-hatred that made Sakovyč tick; and I certainly do not mean to argue that this was all there was to him. My goal was rather twofold: to make a case for the possibility, even probability, of such insecure behavior on the part of a Ruthenian intellectual elite that was attempting to find a place in Polish-Lithuanian society, and to point out what, in my impression of the witnesses, sticks out: Sakovyč's abhorrence for those things that made Ruthenians different from Roman Catholics and his location of those differences in linguistic, intellectual, spiritual, and physical baseness. Moreover, I would argue, there was something in Sakovyč that set him apart from other Ruthenian churchmen of the first half of the seventeenth century with whom I am familiar: the fact that when he was finished reforming the Ruthenian there

was (or better: there *ought* to have been) nothing left to betray his difference from a Pole.

It may be useful to compare Sakovyč with his contemporaries. In justifying his conversion to the Roman Catholic Church in 1641, Sakovyč painted a picture of a golden age of true Uniates such as the metropolitans Hipatij Potij, Josyf Ruc'kyj, and the archbishop Meletij Smotryc'kyj, and he contrasted to that golden age the present bronze age of pseudo-Uniates and crypto-schismatics (Sakovyč 1642b, B3^{v}). Note here that we have moved from the golden age to the bronze in less than ten years: Smotryc'kyj died at the end of 1633. Sakovyč returned to Smotryc'kyj much more frequently than to any of the others. He lifted whole arguments verbatim from the *Apology* he had once helped to print. He also echoed favorite turns of phrase from his predecessor. And he did not always point out his borrowings. One gets the impression that Sakovyč leaned heavily on Smotryc'kyj's public explanations of his conversion from Orthodoxy to the Uniate Church in motivating his own move from the Uniate to the Roman Catholic Church.

But the differences are all the more telling here precisely because Sakovyč insisted so strongly on his spiritual kinship with Smotryc'kyj. In fact, the many borrowings from Smotryc'kyj mask a fundamental difference. If I have understood Smotryc'kyj correctly, his twistings and turnings and compromises all aimed at one thing: the preservation of some sort of Ruthenian difference *within* the cultural and political framework of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and *against* the challenge posed by that society's dominant culture.[109] Ruthenianness was something to which Smotryc'kyj was bound by ties of affection. This does not mean that he felt any more at home than Sakovyč among coughing, hacking, spitting priests, who fed their families and their pigs on communion bread, and who pulled each other's beards in the sanctuary. Perhaps Smotryc'kyj was much less directly familiar with the rural life Sakovyč portrayed than was Sakovyč himself. These differences may have played a role in determining the two men's differing reaction to Ruthenianness.

Smotryc'kyj's "Ruthenian nation" was an idea, a program, a set of desiderata based on a sense of allegiance, a reading of history, and an understanding of what established the public dignity of any ethno-confessional grouping in early modern confessional Europe. Sakovyč's "Ruthenian nation" was both real and absurd; its only reasonable course was to disappear into the Polish. Smotryc'kyj did what he did throughout his life in order, he claimed, to keep Rus' from *becoming* a nation of ignorant peasants; Sakovyč justified what he did because, he claimed, Rus' *was* a nation of ignorant peasants. And, most crucial here, Smotryc'kyj converted in order to avoid becoming a Roman Catholic, in order to maintain some vestige of difference; Sakovyč converted in order to become Roman Catholic, in order to erase all difference.

Consider, for example, the following line of reasoning. Sakovyč devoted lengthy passages to the various social pressures that caused Ruthenians to become Roman Catholic. He included in his survey the presence of Roman

Catholic schools, service for Polish lords, marriage to Polish wives (Sakovyč 1642b, C1^{r}), the fact that "many lords and ladies . . . do not wish to maintain Rus′ at their estates until they become and remain Catholics,"[110] the fact that "there is no land, and hardly any town in Rus′ where there are no Roman Catholics and no Catholic Churches, whereas once you have travelled beyond Lublin and beyond Jarosław, you will not find a Ruthenian Church or a Ruthenian until Cracow itself."[111] Similar lists of the social pressures experienced by the Ruthenians can be found in Smotryc′kyj's work. Smotryc′kyj and Sakovyč agreed publicly, and probably in their private musings as well, that Rus′ was fortunate in its enjoyment of Polish liberties. The question was what to do with them. The sociopolitical pressures I have just enumerated were, in Smotryc′kyj's version of them, part of the danger of public life in Poland-Lithuania, a bad thing, something to be counteracted; and it was the Union that was to keep Rus′ from becoming Catholic and thereby losing its identity. In Sakovyč's version, otherwise superficially similar to Smotryc′kyj's argumentation, these pressures were a good thing, something that would make civilized Roman Catholics out of Rus′, and—here, ironically, he "agreed" with Smotryc′kyj—it was only the Union that was standing in the way.[112] It is worth pointing out here that Sakovyč portrayed as a conversion, borrowing from Smotryc′kyj's apology for his own conversion, what was supposed to have been no conversion and thus an impossible confessional move: that from the Greek Catholic to the Roman Catholic Church.[113] For both Smotryc′kyj and Sakovyč there seems, after all, to have been an important border between the two confessions. Smotryc′kyj placed his hopes for the future of Rus′ in the maintenance of that delimitation; Sakovyč called for its erasure.

In my view, Sakovyč's life was an eccentric one. He seems to have been as much on the margins of Ruthenian society as was Ivan Vyšens′kyj. Our final image of Sakovyč situates him in Kazimierz, the medieval town just outside Cracow's old city walls that was home to most of Cracow's Jews. Here he conducted discussions on the calendar with the local rabbis,[114] and he addressed the people he had sought to leave behind as "people of the old calendar" (*starokalendarzanie*) in a neologism consciously modelled on "people of the Old Testament." Now he represented Ruthenians as Jews and himself took on one of the masks of the convert, loudly articulating reigning views of his own people as disloyal and debased in an effort to efface his former identity.

And yet, I find in Sakovyč's life only more extreme reactions to the same sets of challenges and insecurities that were faced by the Ruthenian mainstream on both sides of the major confessional divide. This was the paradox of the Ruthenian encounter with the West: as Rus′ became better equipped to meet the Protestant and Catholic challenges, as it became more and more "civilized," it became less and less secure in its "civilization." Witold Gombrowicz's analysis of Polish civilizational discontents (1982, 24, 1988, 14) might be adapted to fit

early modern Rus': "A [Ruthenian], when confronting the East, is a [Ruthenian] delineated and known in advance. A [Ruthenian] with his face turned toward the West has a turbid visage, full of unclean angers, disbelief, secret sore spots."

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NOTES

1. Wujek (1573, 338): "Bo iako ten Pismo ma dobrze wykładać, ktory sie go iako żyw nie vczył? ktory swe lata w żarciech, w karciech, w dworstwie, y w szyderstwie, w kunściech, a w rymowaniu strawił?"

   This is the reigning image of Rej that has been passed down in Polish tradition, and not that of the author of a Calvinist postil or of a moralizing speculum. See Podgórska 1981 for a study of the comic in Rej.

2. The most complete biographical sketch of Sakovyč is to be found in Szegda 1994, but cf. also Golubev (1893, 9–26).

3. See Sakovyč (1642b, 20) and Sysyn (1985, 49–50).

4. Szegda (1994, 343) doubts that this Uniate episode could have taken place before Sakovyč's rectorship in Kyiv, but the contemporary rumor mill quite definitely placed him in Przemyśl just before his arrival in Kyiv and entry into the monastic order. See Golubev (1893, 11–12) and Mohyla (1893, 53).

5. The work is most readily available in Kolosova (1978, 322–38).

6. See Frick (1995, 131–38). In fact, it was Sakovyč who—in the first person—filled out the last sheet of Smotryc'kyj's *Apology,* identifying his participation only with the signature initials K[assian] S[akowicz] A[rchimandrita] D[ubieński]. See Smotryc'kyj (1628, 202–03) and Smotryc'kyj (1987a, 624).

7. See especially the prefaces to Sakovyč 1642b and Sakovyč 1644.

8. For a survey of the Orthodox charges, see Golubev (1893, 11–12, 18–20).

9. The main Orthodox response to Sakovyč's Ἐπανόρθωσις was a work entitled ΛΙΘΟΣ *or a Rock from the Sling of the Truth of the Holy Orthodox Ruthenian Church.* It was published at the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves in 1644 and ascribed on the title page to "the humble father Euzebij Pimin." Εὐσεβὴς Ποιμὴν—"the pious shepherd"—is clearly a pseudonym. It is generally held that Metropolitan Peter Mohyla stood behind this pseudonym. The strongest critique of this opinion came from the work's nineteenth-century editor, S. Golubev, who pointed to Mohyla's habit of delegating philological and polemical work to one or more of his close Kyiv associates; he saw Mohyla as the work's instigator, perhaps as one who played some role in the work's shaping, but not as the work's author. See Golubev (1893, 74–76).

   I suspect Golubev was uncomfortable with the idea that the metropolitan was the author of such a violent piece of confessional polemic. Still, Mohyla probably was the work's author. The contemporary debate had

also raised the issue. Many at that time saw in Mohyla the author, and Sakovyč himself filled the margins of his copy of *Lithos* with polemical rebuttals addressed directly to the metropolitan. (Sakovyč's marginalia are printed by Golubev in Mohyla 1893. One of many passages where Sakovyč addressed himself to Mohyla as the author of *Lithos* is found at Mohyla [1893, 23].)

Those who argued against this attribution at the time were Roman Catholics and Uniates who had a different agenda: to "prove" that Mohyla was a crypto-Uniate. The Orthodox, of course, were happy to see in their illustrious metropolitan the author of *Lithos*. See, for example, Ioanykij Haljatovs'kyj's polemical reply to his Catholic opponents (1678, 93): "ieśli Mohiła był Vnitem, czemuż wydał Xiążkę *Lithos albo Kamień* nazwanę? . . . ktory *Lithos* ty refutuiesz Trybunalisto, y Piotra Mohiłę *Lithologiem* nazywasz."

10. Mohyla (1893, 379): "ty, ktoryś trzy razy w wierze y nabożeństwie iuż, iako chameleon w farbie, odmienił, nie zadługo do zboru haeretickiego, czwarty raz się odmieniaiąc, przyłączysz, gdzie będzie pewne y ostatnie twoie zaginienie, od ktorego cię niech Pan Bog, dawszy tobie rozum do obaczenia się, uchowa. Amen."

11. Wiszniewski (1851, 372–73) attributed the work to the Uniate archimandrite of Dubno, Ivan Dubovyč, and Golubev (1893, 143–44) accepted this attribution. But Estreicher (1910, 226) gave convincing counter-arguments, pointing out that a Uniate could hardly have been the author of the work.

12. Cited according to Wiszniewski (1851, 372–73): "Strzeżcie się go Panowie Polacy! uczył on się w Kijowie po turecku i powiadał, że obali Alkoran, już to się trzeci raz w wierze przeniewierzył, może i Mahometanem zostanie i będzie waszym nieprzyjacielem, bo to *vir ad deceptionem natus.*"

13. Sakovyč (1642b, 105): "Czasem też drugi Pop ladaco baie, y niemasz czego słuchać. Drudzy też z Heretickich Postyl Kazania w Cerkwi ludziom powiadaią. Iako to ieden Pop za Lwowem mowił: *Posłuchayte Chrestiane Kazania światoho Reia.* Czego postrzegszy Xiądz Koropatnicki Franciszkan, będąc ieszcze świetskim, wziął za to winy dwa Woły od Popa, y Postylle one Reiowe."

I have retained in English the word *pop* as it is used in the Polish texts to signify an Orthodox priest. It is a crucial word here. In Sakovyč's usage it was already beginning to take on the derogatory qualities that Orthodox speakers of Polish discern in contemporary Polish usage. It is doubly important for my argument, since Sakovyč was himself the son of a *pop* and directed much of his scorn toward the group to which his father had belonged. For examples of the derogatory use of the word *pop* in the Polish context, see Kępiński (1990, 49–50).

14. Martel (1938, 289); Litwin (1987, 82).

15. In his study of Ivan Vyšens'kyj, Ivan Franko (1981, 127) spoke of masks: "... they [the Ruthenians] learned to hide within themselves their real thoughts, to say and do one thing, and to think another thing, whereby with time the mask became one with the face, such that a person did not even himself know what in him was genuine and true and what was masked ... "

16. For an overview of the Ukrainian position within the state and society of the nobles, see Sysyn (1985, 5–36).

17. The dilemmas faced by the Ruthenian elite may bear some structural similarities to those faced by other minorities in European societies. See, for example, Gilman 1986, especially pp. 1–86, for an overview of the dilemmas faced by Jews in early modern Europe.

18. Skarga (1882, 491–92): "Bo kościoł Boży rozlicznością (bez sprzeciwności) przybrany iest, iako krolowa w farby szat y kamieni a pereł rozmaitych ... a przedsię to kościoł ś. rad widzi y dopuszcza, byle się tym rożna wiara nie czyniła, a iedność się kościoła ś. nie targała."

19. See Tazbir (1962, 722) and Lubieniecki (1982, vii).

20. The literature on the theory and practice of tolerance in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is large. See especially the works of Tazbir (e.g., 1967 and 1973) and Ogonowski (e.g., 1958) as well as the literature on the Confederation of Warsaw of 1573 (e.g., Korolko 1974 and the articles in the special issue of *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* [vol. 19, 1974]).

21. On Lubieniecki and the *Poloneutychia,* see Barycz 1981 and the preface to Lubieniecki 1982.

22. This was practically a refrain in Lubieniecki's survey of recent Polish-Lithuanian confessional history (1982, 52): "Ale i te nasz Pan Jezus Chrystus nie tylko konfundował przez sługi swe, ale je tak zniósł, że już i o jednym z nich w naszych krajach nie wiemy."

23. See Lubieniecki (1982, vii). Lubieniecki seems to have intended the work for publication. It remained in manuscript until recently, however, perhaps because, as its recent editors have suggested, it would have pleased no one: the large gentry opposition would have found fault with the regalistic praise of Sigismund III, and the leaders of the Counter-Reformation gathered around the king's court would have objected to the apology for confessional tolerance. See Lubieniecki (1982, xvii).

24. Lubieniecki (1982, 15): "A kto bowiem nie widzi, jako to za wielkie szczęście poczytano być może, gdy Pan Bóg sam, sprawca rządów

ziemskich, w jedno państwo jako w jedno ciało złączy kilkadziesiąt księstw różnych nabożeństw, języków, przyrodzenia i obyczajów, a da im jednę głowę, jednego pana i jako jednego ojca, tak wielom synów różnych matek, różnego ćwiczenia i języków, i nabożeństw, który jednako wszytkie miłując, jednaką im miłość pokazując, jednakie o nich staranie ma, a one w dobrym rządzie, swobodzie, opatrzeniu, zgodzie i wczasie zachowywa?"

25. Lubieniecki (1982, 115): "Nie masz nic tak dobrowolnego, jak nabożeństwo."

26. Under Władysław III, Lubieniecki noted (1982, 22), "the Ruthenian and Podolian *szlachta* was set equal with the Polish *szlachta*" ("Tamże ruską i podolską szlachtę porównano z polską szlachtą . . . ").

27. Lubieniecki (1982, 85): "pospólstwo ruskie wyglądało go [i.e., Michael the Brave] chętniej niż Żydowie Mesyjasza, co on dobrze od naszych Kozaków wiedział, którzy mu służyli, bo im popowie ich bajali, że ten ich greckie nabożeństwo do ziemie lecące miał na nogach postawić."

28. Skarga (1882, 390): "Potym wiele innych rzeczy napletli, Ruś prostą zwodząc."

29. Wotschke (1908, 174): "Est enim Russia omnium graecanicarum superstitionum admiratrix imitatrixque diligentissima vel potius simia superstitiosissima."

30. See Orzechowski's letter to Paolo Ramusio (15 August 1549), printed in Orzechowski (1891, 281): "Fuit enim Russia Scythiae antea, cui finitima est, non multum sane genere ac moribus dissimilis . . . "

31. Orzechowski (1972, 435): "osadziłem ja, Tobie, Krolu, podolskie puste krainy, napełniłem ludźmi, oraczmi, miasteczki, wsiami ruskie pustynie."

32. See, for example, Orzechowski's *Quincunx* of 1564. Orzechowski (1972, 506): "Mamy mówić o naturze i o własności Polskiej Korony; rzeczy to są wielkie i trudne, nie tylko na mię, hrubego Rusina, ale wierę też i na mądrego Salomona"; Orzechowski (1972, 611): "Skądże sie wziął ten nowy nasz z Rusi prorok?"

33. On Orzechowski, see the collectively authored article in the *Polski słownik biograficzny,* the introduction by Jerzy Starnawski to Orzechowski 1972, and Nowak-Dłużewski 1965.

34. For example, in a letter to the papal nuncio in Warsaw, Giovanni Francesco Commendoni, dated 10 December 1564, Orzechowski defended his marriage "no longer citing the opinion of Luther, with whom I wished to have nothing in common, rather pointing to the example of the

priests of the Armenian and Greek rite. From those latter, as I already mentioned, I am descended through the family of my mother" (Orzechowski 1891, 595). Earlier, Orzechowski had "publicly praised Luther's opinion against the Roman celibacy, and [he] had declared the superiority of the marriages of the priests of the Greek rite" (Orzechowski 1891, 598).

35. See the same letter to Commendoni (Orzechowski 1891, 588): "But indeed all of Rus', composed of so many different peoples who differed amongst each other very much in customs and rites, became after all one body, most miraculously directed by the Polish king, when it received the right of free contraction of matrimonial unions between individuals of different peoples and rites. For that very reason my ancestors, who came from Poland, having arrived in Rus' as knights, convinced of the fertility of the land and of the advantageous situation of the province, settled in Rus' (such is the present-day name of that land), wedded Ruthenian women, acquired the village of Orzechowce . . . " (Orzechowski 1891, 588).

36. Lubieniecki wrote in his marginal annotation (1982, 158): "His Ruthenian wife supports him in his constancy" ("Żona ruska utwierdza go w stateczności"). On the Tyškevyč affair, see Tazbir 1971.

37. On Palczowski, see Bibrzycki 1979.

38. Palczowski (1609, E4^{v}): "Kannibalowie Moskiewscy."

39. Palczowski (1609, E4^{r-v}): "a ta brzydka bestya Moskiewska co czosnkiem, cybulą, gorzałką, potem iako pies od kilku dni zdechły śmierdzi, a ręce vstawicznie ma splugawione krwią poddanych swoich, ktorym nie inaczey iedno zawżdy Tyrańsko panuie."

40. Palczowski (1609, H3^{v}): "Prawdziwie ci ludzie Chrześciańskiego nazwisku y tytułu, nie są godni. Gdyż pod tym imieniem pełnią takie grzechy y sprosności, iakowych żaden inni narod na świecie."

41. Skarga (1882, 496–97): "Wiem, co cię od tego nawięcey odwodzi, y iako iaki pień tobie do tey iedności zastępuie: iż się na Moskiewskie kościoły y książęcia Moskiewskiego nieiakie tych czasow w panowaniu powodzenie, y na ludzie tegosz ięzyka y nabożeństwa oglądasz. Ale gdy v siebie vważysz, iako nędzne są y prawie napoły w bałwochwalstwo, y to, co zatym idzie, w złe obyczaie y sprośne zaszły ony kościoły Moskiewskie, y iako są osierocałe w nauce, y wielką grubością a nievmieiętnością zarażone, a iako samy iusz bez żadnego dozoru, bez żadnego z innymi kościoły porozumienia rządzą, y iako w moc świecką wpadli,—barzo prętko ten pień odwalić możesz. Moskiewscy duchowni, będąc daleko grubszy y nieumieiętnieyszy, aniszli ci Ruscy, mniemaią,

aby tylo sami byli na świecie chrześcianie, a inne wszytkie narody w pogańśtwie żyły."

But on the same page where Skarga warned against false feelings of kinship with the Muscovites, he could also point to the fact that Rus' could easily be united with the Poles since they had "also one common language with us Catholics" ("Pomagać do tego y ieden ięzyk spolny z nami katoliki . . . ").

42. See Frick (1995, 238); Smotryc'kyj (1628, *2^{v}–3^{r}) and Smotryc'kyj (1987a, 519).

43. See, for example, Smotryc'kyj (1621a, 55^{v}–56^{r}) and Smotryc'kyj (1987a, 380).

44. Mohyla (1893, 376): "Naostatek, zawsze to zadawano Rusi, że sie nie uczą, dla tego są prostakami, nie politikami."

45. See especially Elias's study of the "history of manners" in Elias 1994.

46. For a recent assessment of the "fortunes of the Courtier," see Burke 1995 (pp. 81–98 for adaptations in other languages). For an assessment of the changes made to Polonize the Courtier, see Picchio 1978.

47. There is a large literature dealing with Polish self-perceptions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The growth of what might be termed a kind of Polish megalomania is traced on the margins of works by many scholars, especially in the studies of Janusz Tazbir. This topic is at the center of Tadeusz Ulewicz's study of Sarmatia and Sarmatism. On Old Polish historiography, see also the works of Henryk Barycz (e.g., 1981).

48. See Orzechowski's *Dyjalog* of 1562 in Orzechowski (1972, 417–18): "Mniemali przed tym postronni ludzie, aby Polonia była miasto jakieś, tak jak jest Bononia we Włoszech miasto jedno, czegośmy sie, po świecie jeżdżąc, nasłychawali dosyć." And cf. Lubieniecki (1982, 63), who wrote that he had "seen certain captains in foreign countries before that election [of Henri Valois], people rather outstanding, who believed that *Polonia* is a certain region of Germany" ("Jam niektóre kapitany widział w cudzych krajach przed tą elekcyją, ludzi dosyć pozorne, którzy rozumieli, że Polonia jest pewna kraina w Niemcech.") Even if Lubieniecki's ultimate point is to express pride in Poland's "world-wide" fame after the first elected king, it is a pride motivated by a fear: that even "rather outstanding people" could not quite locate Poland on a map.

49. Józef Budziło, an eyewitness chronicler of the Muscovite campaign of 1603 to 1612, devoted several truly harrowing pages to the fall of the Polish army into cannibalism in its camp outside of Moscow in the winter of 1612. (See Budziło [1995, 164, 169, 171–72].) To what extent does the shock quality of these descriptions stem from the slip of a

"civilized" people into the barbarity they frequently attributed to the Muscovites?

50. Vyšens'kyj (1955, 204, 178): "Для того, ласкавый и мудрый латинниче, есмо глупцы, бо есмо апостола Павла ученицы." Cf. 1 Cor. 3:18–19, 4:10.
On Vyšens'kyj, see Jaremenko 1982, the articles by Harvey Goldblatt (1991a, 1991b, 1992), and the literature cited there.

51. Smotryc'kyj described his goal as one of keeping the flock away from the "infectious pastures of heretical teaching," in which they "had been wont to graze." See Smotryc'kyj (1987b, x).

52. See Frick (1985, 38–44).

53. See Smotryc'kyj (1987b, 21). On that same page Smotryc'kyj referred to Ruthenian as the "cruder and simpler language" ("подлѣший и простѣший ѩзыкъ").

54. See Mohyla (1893, 375–76): "I respond that it is a proper thing for Rus' to study Greek and Church Slavonic for the sake of the rite, but that, for the sake of politic-ness (*dla politiki*), this is not enough for them, but that they must know Polish and Latin. For in the Polish Crown they use the Latin language almost as their native language, not only in Church, but also before the majesty of His Grace the King, in the Senate, as well as in the Chamber of Delegates, both in the greater and lesser court sessions, as well as in the tribunal, and in general in all political matters. Whereby it is fitting for a Ruthenian, since he is a citizen of the Crown, to know that language without which in this domain he cannot get by. For it would be an improper thing and unfitting if he were to speek Greek or Church Slavonic before a lord in the Senate or in the Chamber of Delegates, since he would always have to transport an interpreter with him, and he would be taken either for a foreigner or for a foolish person . . . "

55. This is made especially clear by the linguistic chart of the polemical literature found in Martel 1938.

56. This was the practice, for example, of Sakovyč in *Epanorthosis* and of Mohyla in *Lithos*.

57. See, for example, Frick 1988 for an assessment of the role played by Polish Antitrinitarian, Catholic, and Calvinist translations of Holy Scripture in shaping the Ruthenian versions of Smotryc'kyj and Mohyla.

58. See Frick (1995, 189–90), Smotryc'kyj (1621b, 16) and Smotryc'kyj (1987a, 407).

59. Mohyla (1893, 155): "stulże pysk, panie mudrohelu."

60. Mohyla (1893, 320): "miły premudry mathematiku." Not all "easternisms" were stylistically low to Polish ears. See Hrabec 1949 for a study of "borderland elements" in the standard literary Polish of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

61. Sakovyč (1641a, A1^{v}): "*periculum* Oyczyźnie."

62. Sakovyč (1641a, A1^{v}): "Nie dopuściłby tego Cesarz Turecki, aby Krol Polski w Państwie iego stanowił Bractwa iakie, y niemi rządził? A czemuż Krol Polski ma pozwalać w swoim Państwie Turkogreckiemu Patriarsze Bractwa fundować, y niemi rządzić?"

63. Sakovyč (1642b,):(2^{r-v}): "Bo prawdziwa wiara iest, iako iedyny filar, na ktorey sie nie tylko zbawienie nasze, ale y całość Rzeczypospolitey wspiera y gruntuie."

64. Sakovyč (1641b, 24–25): "w iednym Mieście Krakowskim, Wileńskim, Lwowskim, Lubelskim, Poznańskim, Warszawskim, powiem bespiecznie, że w iednym Klastorze wielkim, więcey ludzi vczonych y Theologow, niżli we wszytkiey Rusi."

65. Sakovyč (1642b, B4^{v}): "Pop Idiota."

66. Sakovyč (1642b, C1^{r}): "Prostakowi Popowi."

67. Sakovyč (1641b, 27): "A iż Ruś owa prosta po Wsiach, y Miasteczkach . . . "

68. Sakovyč (1641b, 28): "Taka to prostota v Rusi grubey."

69. Sakovyč (1641b, 20): "Ktoż cię nauczył głupi Rusinie, taką confuzyą czynić . . . "

70. Sakovyč (1642b, B1^{r}): "Pracę moię, Niewyśmienicie, ale po prostu iako o grubych błędach Grekoruskich grubo do grubych napisaną . . . Oddawam."

71. Sakovyč (1641b, 27): "Chłopskie Rozumienie o Kalendarzu . . . "

72. Sakovyč (1641b, 6): "nietylko wy Panowie Disunici, ale też y my Vnici, ktorzy więcey ludzi vczonych miedzy sobą mamy . . . "

73. Sakovyč (1642a, A2^{r}): *Dionizy*—"Maiem ruczku S. Damascena, hdie nam tak każet świetyt, za to iey sia dierżaczy nie błudziem." *Maciek*—"Co to za ręka? iakomcikolwiek Matematyki w Zamościu słuchał od P. Wuiaszki posłany, y komput dobrze rozumiem, a o teyiem Rączce nie słyszał." *Dionizy*—"Nie rozumieiu Panie Matfiey szto howorysz, szto heto Matyka albo kapiut?" *Maciek*—"O motyce widzę abo bezmianach y kupiectwie przystoyniey tobie Batku gadać niżli o takich subtelnościach."

74. Sakovyč (1642a, A2r): "Rużczyzna to, a ia hlaholiti nie vmiem."

It is worth noting that these cross-linguistic misunderstandings depend on the "deviations" from Polish introduced by Dionisij's "Belarusian" *akanie*. Maciek speaks, Dionisij misunderstands, and Maciek understands Dionisij's misunderstanding: *matematyka* —> *matyka* —> *motyka*. Polish is the norm, the rule by which "Belarusian" errors are measured.

75. Sakovyč (1642a, A3v): "O miły Batku, toć kapuściany masz rozum . . . Powiedz mi mudry Otcze."

76. Sakovyč (1644, 37): "a dla Boga coż będzie za rożność nas Vnitow od Schismatykow . . . "

77. Sakovyč (1644, A2r): "bez zgody w Kalendarzu, ani znać tey Vniey Ruskiey z Kościołem Rzymskim: bo też wszytkie obrządki y ceremonie zachowuie Vnia co y Disunia."

78. Sakovyč (1644, 15): "mowią czasem grubianowie, Podobno w Ruskich kraiach inaczey słońce y Miesiąc po niebie biegaią a w Polskich inaczey y v Rusi po Rusku *deržat, a v Lachow po Lacku.*"

79. Sakovyč (1644, 39): "Iest przysłowie o Ruskim Miesiącu, iż gdy owo kto komu biciem abo karaniem grozi, tedy więc mowi: "Poleżyż mi z Ruski Miesiąc, dla Boga iakiś to ciężki y straszny Ruski miesiąc, wiem że większe są mille Ruskie, Vkraińskie, Podolskie, większe y miary, korce, y łokcie, niżli Polskie; ale dni y miesiące Ruskie większe były nad Polskie, tedy by potrzeba się wam obawiać Panowie Rusnacy, abyście z temi wielkimi Miesiącami nie omieszkali wyniść z onemi śś. Pannami mądremi na zpotykanie oblubieńca swego, ktorego one mądre Panny maiące Oley Miłości Bożey y bliźniego w lampach swoich wcześnie potkały, y z nim na one wieczne Niebieskie gody weszły, a przed onemi głupiemi y *tarde venientibus* wrota Niebieskie zamknione były, y nie dokołatawszy się, musiały ze wstydem y hańbą wieczną nazad odeść, to iest na wieki wieczne od łaski Bożey y od Krolestwa iego odpaść, czego was racz Panie Boże zachować."

80. Krzyżanowski (1972, 101): "Ruski dar: dzisiaj dał, jutro odebrał." For early modern perceptions of national traits as reflected in sayings and proverbs, see the classic studies of Kot (1987a, 1987b, 1987c).

81. Krzyżanowski (1972, 102): "Z Rusinem gadaj, a w zanadrzu kamień trzymaj."

82. Krzyżanowski (1972, 101): "Rusina kto oszuka, będzie mądr."

83. Krzyżanowski (1972, 102): "Uparty jak Rusin."

84. Krzyżanowski (1972, 100): "Chytry jak Rusin."

85. Krzyżanowski (1972, 101): "Jeżeli w tym nie są czary, to ich już i na Rusi nie ma."

In this regard, it would be worth investigating the records of witchcraft trials in Poland-Lithuania for their ethno-confessional content. Was Rus' a land of witches? In March 1551, after consulting with several ladies of Podlasie concerning their opinion of the local "witches," Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black chose three—two Ruthenian women and one Jewess—to send to King Sigismund August so that they might care for the ailing Barbara Radziwiłłówna. See Janowski (1939, 67).

86. Krzyżanowski (1972, 100): "I na Rusi robić musi."

87. As cited by Łoziński (1931, 164): "Na Rusi choćbyś jezuity posiał, to przecież złodzieje się urodzą."

88. The expression "a Ruthenian month" was still being used by Chopin. See Kępiński (1990, 48).

89. Mohyla (1893, 23): "ty nam powiedz, gdzie twoie ucho schowane, ktoreś pierwey miał . . . ?"

90. Mohyla (1893, 188): "Twoim tylko bezuchym rozsądkiem ta modlitwa formą w tym sakramencie być nie może, y twoie to consequentia: Kassian bez ucha, *ergo pluet.*"

91. Mohyla (1893, 41): "Przystoyniey tedy tobie o świniach diszkurować, ktoreś ucho ziadły niżeli nowe formy sakramentom stanowić."

92. Mohyla (1893, 24): "rożnie o nim ludzie prawią."

93. Mohyla (1893, 23–24): "Gdy Mohile, schismatyckiemu Metropolicie, racyi nie staie o strzyżeniu y chowaniu włosow, tedy się do mego ucha udaie, co tak często na wielu mieyscach powtarza, iakoby chcąc mnie y moie katolickie pisma w hańbie przywieść. Ano wiedz, lichowierny Mohiło, że choćbyś ty y po trzy, albo y po cztery miał oczy y po dwa nosy, ale nie masz głowy, wszak się powiadasz, gdzie moie ucho. Jest wiele ludzi godnych y zacnych, tak świeckich y duchownych, ktorzy albo w chorobie, albo przypadkiem iakim, członka iakiego, oka albo palca, y nosa, y ucha przydą, a to ich dobrey sławie nie szkodzi, choć ciału szpetność nanosi,—y dowiesz się, iż ia ieszcze w pieluszkach w kolebce w poł roku przez wyroki . . . od wieprza z kolebki liszony iestem ucha, w czym żadney moiey winy nie było, alić tego, komu było zlecono pilnować."

94. See, for example, Mohyla (1893, 177, 340; but see also 355–56), where he defended his father.

95. Sakovyč (1642a:A1^{v}): "Przetom się też dziwił gdym na rynku przeszłego Czwartku y Niedzielę tak wiele zgniłych Ryb y śledzi widział . . . "

96. Sakovyč (1644, 14). Lazar Baranovyč made similar bows in Kochanowski's direction when he wrote Polish verse. See, for example, Baranovyč (1670, *3[r]): "Nie Kochanowski lub te Rythmy noszę/Byście się przecie w nich Kochali proszę."

97. Sakovyč (1642a, A4[v]): "Iuż się y biednie śledzie od słońca popiekły,/Tak się waszego postu dni barzo przewlekły./Ba y samych iuż w krotce śledzi nie stanie,/Ieżeli Przedłużycie Pańskie Zmartwych wstanie./ Przynamniey na tak znacznym poznaycie Kompasie,/W iakim macie Wielkanoc odprawować czasie."

98. Sakovyč (1642b, 6): "W szpetnych y zapługawionych Mirnicach abo naczyniach ten Oley Chryzmy chowaią."

99. Sakovyč (1642b, 12): "Na wielu też mieyscach miasto proskur, kupuią sobie Popi owe bułki na rynku pszeniczne."

100. Sakovyč (1642b, 15): "Doznana rzecz że wiele Popow miasto Wina octem y kwasem Iabłecznym albo gruszkowym celebruią. A ieżli też y Winem, tedy z pleśniałym z skwaśniałym, bo chce Pop kwartą Wina do puł roku albo y daley służyć."

101. Sakovyč (1642a, A2[r]): "Nie od rzeczyś rzekł Batku, że wiele dumu włosy wasze maią, bo w kudłach waszych długich dostatek głowek z dumami łazi."

102. Sakovyč (1642b, 21): "Czasem też drugiemu Popowi ręka drży albo od starości, albo od piiaństwa . . . Ieśliby kropla Krwie Pańskiey na Chustę albo na co kolwiek vkanęła, tedy to każą wyrzezać y spalić. O nieiednemuż by nie tylko Chłopowi ale y Popowi wąsatemu y brodatemu ktorzy we Krwi Pańskiey wąsy y brody płoczą, te wąsy y brody trzeba palić.

"Trzecia że te łyszki czasem bywaią wielkie szerokie, a drugi też albo druga y gęby nie vmie otworzyć, ale ieszcze ściska gębę, zaczym necessarie mu się Krew Pańska około vst rozlać. Drugiemu też gęba iak las włosami zarośnie, że ledwie mu do gęby Pop trafi, y koniecznie musi się Krew Pańska pierwey w wąsach omoczyć, niżli do vst przyidzie czego się tak wielekroć doświadzyło na wielu mieyscach.

"Czwarta, że czasem drugi będzie miał vsta nie czyste y gębę wrzodowatą, a bierze Sakrament łyszką, potym drugiemu za nim nastempuiącemu z oneyże łyszki pożywać iest okropno, ba y niebespieczno.

"Piąta, v drugiego też grubiana wlecze się ślina z gęby za łyszką aż brzydko patrzać."

103. Sakovyč (1642b, 36–37): "A drugi wszytkie cząstki ktorych czasem będzie do trzydziestu albo y więcey y niesubtelnych, te wszytkie w Kielich wsypuie, że czasem nie puł Kielicha będzie, potym to łyszką z

Kielicha bierze y iakoby Barszcz iaki łyszką do gęby wnosi, gdzie drugiemu y po wąsach y brodzie Krwie Pańskiey Pełno, ba y samych kroszek, tedy on wąsy smokcze, a że tak wiele tych cząstek nakładł w Kielich, że ledwie nie podle sobie, tedy iak trudność ich w pożywaniu była, nie mnieysza trudność y w wyczyszczeniu, z nich Kielicha, za czym co raz kilka raz wody przylewa, czasem też y palcem z Kielicha kroszek sięga. A na ostatek co y do słyszenia, rzecz okropna gembką czarną zabrukaną zapleśniałą Kielich wychędoża, gdzie może się y kroszka iaka Sakramentu w gębkę zagarnąć. A potym onę gębkę, z oney mokroty wysysa, wyśmoktuie. Ia nie wiem co za Natura tak gruba że może *tantam nauseam* znieść, *tandem* zawiesi tę gębkę na ścienie, po ktorey Muchi paiąki łazą plugawią, y siatki swoie rozstawiaią, a potym przez tydzień od oney wilgotności gębka y popleśnieie."

104. Sakovyč (1642b, 48–49): "Kielicha nie nakrywaią, ale tak nienakryty stoi na Ołtarzu, aż gdy drzwi Carskie otworzą, zkąd może Mucha Paiąk paięczyna, proch y popioł etc. w Kielich wpaść, a żem przypomniał że y popioł, albowiem bywaią w niektorych Cerkwiach Kominki, albo Duynicy wielkie, na ktorych ogień wytrykusze albo chłopcy wachlarzami rozdymaią y ten popiel roschodzi się po wszytkim Ołtarzu, a ogień ten rozdymaią dla Kadzielnice albowiem kadzą na samey Liturgiey siedm albo dziewięć razow . . . y kadzą mężczyzny białych głow, ieszcze druga biała głowa y Suknie y szubę zwierzchnią rostworzy, żeby iey kadził, y na niektorych mieyscach, dobrze to kadzenie Popowi wychodzi."

105. Mohyla (1893, 266): "Teraz wracam do przedsięwziętey materyi o całowaniu popa, mowiąc, że arcyniesłuszna y nieprzystoyna iest ceremonia, ktora y od kościoła Katolickiego, ieśli kiedy w nim była, iest wyrzucona, y od unitskiey cerkwi porzucona y podeptana. Wam schismatikom, popom y władykom, ieśli się podoba, zostawycież przy niey. Iednak przyczyńcie się za waszymi popami, uczyńcie im w tym iakiekolwiek ulżenie, niechby nieborak nie ponosił tak wielkiey fatygi od wszystkich całownikow y całownic. Rozdzielcie ich na dwoie; a to z tey raciey, ponieważ pop z popadią iedno iest, y kto popadią pocałuie, iakoby popa pocałował, przeto niech iedni całuią popa, drudzy popadią; tylko w tym spor będzie, bo pewnie wszyscy mężczyzny y parobcy, zachcieliby popadią całować, a niewiasty y dziewki popa, co by nie w smak y popadiey y popowi niemało było, bo czasem pop będzie stary, a popadia młoda, albo pop młody, a popadia stara. Owo koncluduiąc ten paragraph, mowię, że to brzydka ceremonia w cerkwiey schismatickiey, przy takiey uroczystości chwalebnego Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego, całowania popa odprawuie się. Wszakże, ieśli iuż wam tak się ta brzydka ceremonia podobała, żeby was chłopi y niewiasty całowali (bo to

smaczny kąsek y samym władykom, bo y ich całuią), tedy przynaymniey w rękę niech was całuią, a nie w twarz."

106. Mohyla (1893, 75). Actually, it was Mohyla who cited the case of a certain Uniate priest Sadof, who, "offering communion to a sick person, poured borscht instead of the wine ablution into the chalice." But, as we discover from Sakovyč's marginal comment, this case only confirmed his opinion of the state of Rus'.

107. Sakovyč (1642b, 79): "Abo y na Pentekostią gdy czyta Modlitwy Presbyter, tedy y to klęczenie ich nie polityczne, y nie grzeczne, bo głowy na Ziemie położywszy, owdzie iak działa narychtowane nazad powystaią."

108. Mohyla (1893, 258): "na ciebie to y na podobnych tobie, ktorzyście z cerkwi uciekli y z niey szydzicie, Bogu głowę, skłaniaiąc, działa rychtuią. Przymiż wdzięcznie wet za wet."

109. This is one of the underlying arguments in Frick 1995.

110. Sakovyč (1642b, C1ʳ): "Wiele znam Panow y Paniey ktorzy niechcą Rusi na dworach swoich chować, aż Katholikami zostaną y zostaią."

111. Sakovyč (1642b, 30): ". . . nie masz tego kraiu, a ledwie y ktore miasto w Rusi, gdzieby Katholikow Rzymian y Kościołow nie było: a Ruskiey cerkwi y Rusina, za Lublin y za Jarosław zaiechawszy, nie obaczysz do samego Krakowa . . . "

112. Sakovyč (1642b, C1ʳ): "Y owszem, by nie ta Vnia przeponę Rusi vczyniła, tedyby iuż więtsza część Rusi w nabożeństwie Kościoła Rzymskiego była."

113. The Uniate hierarchy was sensitive to the charge that the Uniate Church was only a stepping-stone on the way to the "true" Church that was the Roman Catholic one. Metropolitan Iosyf Ruc'kyj urged Rome to forbid such "conversions," at least to priests. See Jobert (1974, 362–67).

114. Sakovyč (1644, 11): "Pytałem ia pilno o Pasce Żydowskiey w Krakowie co przednieyszych Rabinow Żydowskich."

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Roman Mstyslavič's Constitutional Project of 1203: Authentic Document or Falsification?*

OLEKSIJ TOLOTCHKO

The text investigated in this paper has, in a certain sense, enjoyed good fortune in Russian and Ukrainian historiography. In spite of the general tendency of the development of a critical approach to sources in our scholarship, trust in this text has grown continually. Especially strange in this regard is the fact that confidence in the reliability of this document has increased despite the obvious fact that the only source containing a "constitutional project" of Roman Mstyslavič is the *Istorija Rossijskaja* by Vasilij Nikitič Tatiščev. It is a treatise with a widely-accepted positive reputation with regard to its sources and no attempt to make a source analysis has ever been undertaken. Apparently historians, in judging the reliability of this information, were increasingly disposed to proceed from the point of view of the possibility or impossibility of this event in the general context of events in the early thirteenth century and, therefore, to solve the problem within the context of political history rather than as the result of source-study procedures.

I shall therefore recall here the context in which V. N. Tatiščev placed the idea of Roman Mstyslavič. The early thirteenth century was marked by a growing competition between the Kyivan prince Rjurik Rostyslavič and his son-in-law Roman Mstyslavič who, according to numerous scholars, enjoyed priority in southern Rus'. This competition ended in 1202, when Roman attacked and took Kyiv, and deprived Rjurik of the position of grand prince. In the following year (according to Tatiščev, however, in the same year 1202) Rjurik with his allied troops captured the city, having conducted an unprecedented massacre. The angry Roman undertook a campaign against Rjurik and forced him to escape to Ovruč, but as a result of long negotiations Rjurik received the capital city of Rus' again. In 1204 Roman concluded a treaty with the Olgovičes and Vsevolod Jurijovyč *i byst' myrъ*,[1] and in 1205 he took part in a great campaign against the Polovtsians together with Rjurik. Immediately after this campaign, during the *myropoložennja o volostex, smjatenie velykoje* happened in Perejaslav, as the chronicler noted. Roman captured Rjurik and forcefully tonsured him a monk.[2] The last two events are described by Tatiščev under the same year 1203. And immediately after the narrative of Rjurik's tonsure, under the same year, Tatiščev sets out Roman's project.

The full text follows:

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Как скоро Рюрик с женою и дочерью были пострижены, а сыновья под стражу взяты, въехал Роман в Киев с великою честию и славою. И будучи тут, советовал с князи и бояры о разпорядках в Руской земли, чтоб пресечь междоусобиа. И согласяся, послал ко Всеволоду, великому князю, в Суздаль и ко всем местным князям объявить, что он Рюрика для его клятвопреступления свергнул с престола. И представлял им следуюсчее: "Вы, братия, известны о том, что Киев есть старейший престол во всей Руской земли и надлежит на оном быть старейшему и мудрейшему во всех князьях руских, чтоб мог благоразумно управлять и землю Рускую отвсюду оборонять, а в братии, князьях руских, доброй порядок содержать, дабы един другаго не мог обидеть и на чужие области наезжать и разорять. Ныне же видим все тому противное. Похисчают престол молодшие и несмысленные, которые не могут не токмо других разпоряжать и братию во враждах разводить, но и сами себя оборонить не в состоянии; часто востает война в братии, приводят поганых половцов и разоряют землю Рускую, чим наипаче и в других вражду всевают. Того ради и Рюрик явися винен, и я лишил его престола, дабы покой и тишину Руской земле приобрести, доколе все князи руские, разсудя о порядке руского правления, согласно положат и утвердят. О чем прошу от каждого совета, кто как наилучше вздумает. Мое же мнение ежели принять хотите, когда в Киеве виликий князь умрет, то немедленно местные князи, суздальский, черниговский, галицкий, смоленский, полоцкий и резанский, согласяся, изберут старейшаго и достойнейшаго себе великим князем и утвердят крестным целованием, как то в других добропорядочных государствах чинится. Младших же князей к тому избранию не потребно, но они должны слушать, что оные определят. Когда тако князь великий на киевский престол избран будет, должен старшего сына воего оставить на уделе своем, а молодших наделить от онаго ж или в Руской земли от Горыня и за Днепр, сколько городов издревле к Киеву принадлежало. Ежели кто из князей начнет войну и нападение учинит на область другаго, то великий князь да судит с местными князи и смирит. Ежели на кого придут войною половци, венгры, поляки или другой народ, и сам тот князь оборониться не может, тогда князю великому, согласяся с местными князи, послать помочь от всего государства, сколько потребно. А чтобы местные князи не оскудевали в силах, не надлежит им областей своих детям делить, но отдавать престол по себе одному сыну старшему со всем владением. Меньшим же хотя давать для прокормления по городу или волости, но оным быть под властию старшего их брата. А буде у кого сына не останется, тогда отдать брату старейшему по нем или кто есть старейший по линии в роде его, чтоб Руская земля в силе не умалялась. Вы бо ведаете довольно, когда немного князей в Руси было и старейшаго единаго слушали, тогда все окрестные их боялись и почитали, не смея нападать на пределы Руские, как то ныне видим. И если вам нравно съехаться на совет к Киеву или где пристойно, чтоб о сем внятнее разсудить и устав твердый учинить, то прошу в том согласиться и всем обвестить.

Князи, видя сие Романово представление, некоторые хотя не хотели такого устава принять, но, боязя Романа прогневать, обесчались к Киеву съехаться, но не поехали, извиняясь разными невозможностями. А

> Всеволод, великий князь, боясся старейшинство иному отдать ни сам хотя в Киеве быть, отказал Роману, сказав, что "того издревле не было и я не хочу преступать обычая древняго, но быть так, как было при отцах и дедах наших". Роман, получа сей ответ, оскорбился велми и, оставя в Киеве паки Игоря Ярославича, сам возвратился в Галич.[3]

This is the text from which Roman Mstyslavič's project is known. The very person of the prince, being strongly mythologized already by Polish historians of the sixteenth century and, through his acquaintance with their writings, by Tatiščev himself and by subsequent Russian historiography, apparently was to inspire confidence in his "Western" tastes in policy. Similar were the statements, for instance, that Sergej Myxajlovič Solov′ev used to prove his conclusion: "Being in continuous relations with neighboring foreign states where patrimonial princely relations were being replaced by state relations at that time, Rus′ necessarily was subjected to the influence of the order which dominated in the nearest Western countries; [Roman—O.T.] could, apparently, became a conductor of that conception in southern Rus′, and contribute to the substitution of state relations for princely ones."[4] Besides this, Sergei Myxajlovič Solov′ev, according to his favorite idea of the late disappearance of patrimonial relations in the *princely* environment, considered Tatiščev's tesimony to be especially useful and, therefore, reliable. This opinion was also held by Vasilij Osipovič Ključevskij, who noted:

> Tatiščev in his chronicle quotes from an unknown source an instruction which was sent to all the local princes . . . by Roman when in 1202 he occupied Kyiv . . . The princes did not accept this proposition. In the early thirteenth century princely hereditability in the descending line was neither a common fact nor a universally recognized rule, and the idea of majority came to Roman from feudal Europe.[5]

In the last century, it seems, only Myxajlo Hruševs′kyj, with his typical intuition for sources, was sceptical about Tatiščev's information. Having mentioned this episode in a note to the *Očerk istorii Kievskoi zemli* ("Roman writes thereby an interesting letter . . . This project derives, certainly, from the eighteenth, not from the thirteenth century [see note 569]"),[6] he never again mentioned it in his *Istorija Ukrajiny Rusy,* either in the second or in the third volume. Most of the old historians, however, even when conducting special research on the relations between princes, preferred not to mention Roman's project at all, as a rather dubious document (for example Aleksandr Evgenievič Presnjakov).

A new wave of confidence in Tatiščev's information is connected with Boris Rybakov, who in 1963 assumed the folklore origin of the information and stated in his later work that it derived from "one of the chronicles which has not survived to the present day but was used by V. N. Tatiščev."[7] After Boris Rybakov, Mykola Kotljar is disposed to consider Tatiščev's information as reliable. He developed the idea of the Old Rus′ genesis of the text of Roman's "good order" in the *Istorija Rossijskaja,* "whither [this project—O.T.] came from an Old Rus′ source, now lost. Probably, this source was the initial part of the

Galician-Volhynian Chronicle of the first five years of the thirteenth century, which has not come down to the present. This part, judging by the preserved initial sentence, should contain the biography of Roman Mstyslavič as a Galician-Volhynian prince."[8] Petro Toločko also trusts Tatiščev's information, "in the basis of which there doubtless lies an Old Rus' source."[9]

Thus, to complete this review of various issues, the historiographical situation today is such that Tatiščev's information is regarded as totally authentic. Moreover, it is gradually moving into the category of commonplaces which do not need special proofs and can even be found in popular literature.

It is easy to see, even without extensive quotations, that all the above-mentioned scholars support their confidence in Tatiščev's text by analysis of the sense of Roman's project and by an attempt to fit it into the political practice and imagination of contemporary Rus'. And even if Roman's "good order" too obviously contradicts all that we really know about the relations between the princes in the thirteenth century, even if the electoral system of the prince of Kyiv, with six electors, is too similar to the system in the Holy Roman Empire (and was suspicious by this alone, which was obvious to Tatiščev himself), and although Rus' would not know primogeniture for some centuries, nevertheless, the above-mentioned research approach allows one to consider the ideas of the project as the innovations of an outstanding prince. On the other hand, the obvious sensationality and modernism of Roman's "good order" also cannot be decisive arguments in the verification of Tatiščev's information, because the staticity and conservatism of Old Rus' political ideology still do not exclude the possibility of innovations. Although any historian even partially acquainted with the doctrines of power of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries could bring forth enough evidence for the impossibility of this kind of idea in the context of the political culture of the pre-Mongol era, such is the nature of the new that it does not always grow out of the preceding.

Therefore, the principle of the "credibility" of Roman Mstyslavovič's project cannot be a productive method for determining the reliability of the project text as a source. If, in spite of all the persuasion of the authorities, we still suspect that we are dealing with a falsification (the author has such a premonition), we must subject Tatiščev's text to strict fontological analysis, leaving aside its content for the time being.

It is rarely mentioned (and then only in retelling its contents) that Tatiščev accompanied the account of Roman's project with a note (569),[10] in which he pointed to the origin of his information and the circumstances of its receipt. It seems that only Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj hinted significantly at its importance for understanding all of the text. And, as in many other incidental remarks, the historian was absolutely right. It is this note which contains, probably, the key to the solution:

> This proposition of Roman is not contained in any manuscript which I have held in my hands, but what was given to me by Xruščev, who told me that it had been copied in Novgorod from an ancient chronicle and was written in an ancient

> language, which we translated together as it is given here. And although it seems to me slightly doubtful, yet having seen: (1) an ancient style that could not have been composed by him; (2) that this form of government is similar to that of the German Empire, which cannot be considered by anyone as the best; even Xruščev himself, understanding its many defects, did not praise it; as far as I knew his opinion, he preferred monarchy to other forms; (3) the number of six electors is not safe, because being segregated into two groups of three they cannot bring [the matter] to an end, except that a seventh should be uttered in the scripture. However, if some local person imputed the inheritance only to the elder son, it would be very good, and if this had been established at that time, such great harm from the Tartars would never have happened.[11]

Let us put aside Tatiščev's assurance of the absurdity of the document as a basis of its authenticity. This is, after all, a prevalent method of source study thinking now as well. Let us draw our attention to the description of the circumstances under which Tatiščev obtained the text. They are very enigmatic. *Tatiščev did not see the original himself.* A. F. Xruščev, *who did not know "the ancient style"* well, was nevertheless able to copy and then translate the text, and brought him an excerpt. It is not mentioned what kind of chronicle it was, or from where the excerpt was taken. Finally, one more ambiguity remains: exactly which Novgorod (Velikij or Nižnij) was mentioned in the document?

Most important, however, are the variations in the notes, to which attention has never been drawn. The basis of the 1963 edition was the text of the notes from the first printed edition (Miller's). It was supposed to be complete and to reflect the final stage of Tatiščev's work.[12] However, in the edition of 1963 the text of Miller's edition is supplemented by variant readings from the so-called Voroncov codex (Archives of the Saint Petersburg Division of the Institute of History of the Russian Federation Academy of Sciences, Voroncov collection [36], inventory 1, No. 643). A comparison of the text of Miller's edition with the text of the Voroncov codex gives very interesting results. Let us ignore for the moment all of Tatiščev's changes to the text of note 569. They will be discussed below along with the changes in the main text. What is important is that the historian corrected the source of his information. While in Miller's edition he indicated A. F. Xruščev as his informant, in the Voroncov codex P. I. Eropkin's name appears,[13] later to be changed twice(!). It is a strange circumstance: either Tatiščev forgot who exactly made an excerpt for him at the time of the editing of the Voroncov codex, or he had some reason not to advertise his name, or (also possible) he tried to conceal the very source or to complicate its verification. The Voroncov codex is the only one which contains the name of the architect Eropkin as Tatiščev's informant. But it reflects the second redaction of Tatiščev's notes to the second part of the *Istorija Rossijskaja*. From precisely this redaction is derived, through a series of protographs, the text of Miller's edition,[14] which took into account this correction by Tatiščev. On the other hand, Voroncov's list of notes to the second part, cleared of Tatiščev's corrections, should be identical to the text of the first redaction, represented by the Academy codex (Library of the Russian Federation Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Division 17.17.11).[15]

We thus conclude that Xruščev's name appeared only in the process of preparing the second redaction. In the first redaction of the second part, Eropkin is mentioned as the person who wrote out the text of Roman's project for the author of the *Istorija Rossijskaja.*

This very important trace leading to the first redaction of the second part of the *Istorija Rossijskaja* will help clarify not only the time of modification of the note, but also the time of the appearance of the text of Roman's project in the *Istorija.*

It is characteristic that Tatiščev continued to work on Roman's project even after the basis of the Voroncov codex (which formed the basis of the 1963 edition) had been completed. Some of his corrections can be considered simply stylistic perfections of the translation "from the ancient dialect" (e.g., after the word *разорять* he struck out *не смели;* instead of the word *повиноваться* he inserted *слушать*).[16] But certain corrections change the meaning of the original. For instance, instead of *местным князем владимирским* Tatiščev inserts *местные князи, суздальский* . . . ; in the expression *отдать брату старейшему по нем* the following words are struck out: *или его сыну.*[17] It looks as if Tatiščev, editing the Voroncov codex, hesitated about the best version of Roman's proposal. Certainly, the attentive reader will wonder at the large portion of anachronistic terminology and concepts not characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the text of Roman's project. But insofar as we have to do with a "translation," it is impossible to qualify them as evidence of the anachronism of the entire document, as it could be a result of the translation technique of Tatiščev himself. However, it is possible to overcome this difficulty.

Historians mainly use the second and third volumes of the 1963 edition, in which the second redaction of the second part is published. At the same time, the fourth volume, in which the first redaction (according to the Academy codex) is published, remains ignored. It is namely this redaction that was prepared by Tatiščev in the "ancient dialect," as he called his strange style. In the text of the first redaction the constitutional project of Roman Mstyslavič also is found, but here it is in the "ancient dialect," that is, it should be considered as representing the "original" given to the author by Eropkin or Xruščov.

This text follows:

> Седя же Роман в Киеве, нача гадати со князи и дружиною о устрое Руские земли. И уложивше, посла ко Всеволоду в Володимерь и всем местным князем обесити, иж Рюрика крестнаго деля преступления свергл со Киева, реки има тако: "Се, братие, весте, оже Киев есть старейший стол в Рустей земли и достоит на нем княжити старейшему и смысленейшему во всей братии, абы могл управити добре и землю Рускую всюду обороняти и содержати поряд во братии, да не преобитит един другаго и не наскакует на чужу волость. А се ныне видим, иже се не тако деет, наскакуют молодшие и неумнии, не могуще не толе землю уряжати и во братии ряд полагати, они сами себе обороняти. Ото ж востает рать межи братии, ведут поганых и губят землю Рускую и пачее котору во братии воздвижут. Сего деля Рюрик явися неправ, и свергох его, абы покой устроити в земли Руской, доколе всии братия, погадав о устрое, како бы ти уложить, и пытаю вы, како пригодаете. Яз же вам так

молвлю, ач хосчете, да егда князя в Киеве бог поимет, сошедшеся во Киев местные князи, владимирский, и черниговский, и галицкий, и смоленский, и полоцкий, и рязанский, и погадав, изберут старейшаго и годнейшаго мужа себе и утвердят крестным целованием, яко в иных умных землях творится, младшия князи не треба, а послушают сих старейших. И егда князь великий в Рускую землю на киевский стол изберется, имат старейшаго си сына оставити на своей отчине, а молодшим поделить або тамо, або в Рустей земли волости от Горыня и за Днепр, елико городов испокон потягло ко Киеву. А егда кто от братии воздвижет котору и наскочит на чужу волость, он да посудит с местными князи и омирит. А егда на кого приидут ратнии половцы, или угре, или ляхи, или ин народ, и сам той князь оборонитися не может, ино князь великий, снесшися со братиею, местными князи, и послют помощь от всея Руския земли, елико требе. А иж бы местные князи не малились, не годно волости сыном делити, но отдавати стол по себе единому старейшему со всею волостию. Меньшим же ач дати на прокорм по городу, або по селу. И сии имут ходити под рукою старейшаго си брата. Нет ли кому сына, ото ж дати брату родному. Нет ли брата роднаго, ино дати старейшему его рода, абы руская сила не малилась. Весте бо добре, егда немноги князи в Рустей земли были и старейшаго послушали, тогда вси окрестнии бояхуся и чтяху и не смеяху ратовати, яко ныне зрим. И ач вам любо снидитися ко Киеву и, погадав, положим ряд". Князи же, видевше се, ови ач не хотяху, но не смеяху Роману серца вередити, прирекоша ехати ко Киеву и не ехаша. А Всеволод, бояся сам старейшинство иному дати, ни сам хотя в просто Руси жити, отрече Романови, глаголя: "Се, брате и сыну, испокон тако не бысть. И яз не могу преступати, но хосчу тако быти, яко бысть при отцех и дедах наших". Роман же, слышав се, оскорбися вельми, иде Галичу.[18]

This original of Roman's project, as it appears, was not lost without a trace, and it allows us to make a number of observations. On the one hand, it is not, obviously, a chronicle text. It is a stylistic imitation of a chronicle, here and there unsuccessful. On the other hand, a comparison of the original of the first redaction with the translation made for the second redaction testifies to what degree Tatiščev himself considered this text authentic and to what degree he could modify this text.

In the second redaction (translation) Tatiščev wrote an introduction to the document and instead of the laconic *седя же Роман в Киеве* we read: *Как скоро Рюрик с женою и дочерью были подстрижены, а сыновья под стражу взяты, въехал Роман в Киев с великою честию и славою. Дружина* of the original is replaced in the translation with *бояры*. After the princes refuse to come to Kyiv, in the second redaction the following is added: *извиняясь разными невозможностями*. Therefore, we become convinced that Tatiščev did not regard the text of the first redaction as stable and canonical, any more than the text of the second redaction (compare the above-noted corrections to the Voroncov codex).

Aside from these editorial corrections, a comparison of the first and second redactions shows that Tatiščev also changed essential points of the document. In

the "ancient dialect" Roman sends envoys to Vsevolod in Volodymyr, and Vsevolod himself is called the prince of Volodymyr. In the second redaction, however, the envoys go to Suzdal', and Vsevolod's title, which in the Voroncov codex is mistakenly still designated as "of Volodymyr," is corrected to "prince of Suzdal'" (compare above). It is clear why this happened: somewhat earlier in the same article of 1203 in the Voroncov codex Tatiščev described Roman's embassy to Vsevolod as *в Суздаль*.[19] Evidently, after a certain time Tatiščev became convinced that Vsevolod Jurijovyč had reigned in Suzdal'; thus, he consistently replaces Volodymyr in the first redaction with Suzdal' in the second one (or adds Suzdal' where Vsevolod's city is not mentioned at all).[20] Another example: in the "original" text (first redaction) Roman suggests, in case a prince has no son, that he offer the throne to his "own brother," and in the second redaction—to the "oldest brother after him." If there is none, the first redaction recommends giving the throne to "the eldest of his family," whereas the second redaction—to "whoever is the oldest in the line of his family." Therefore, from one redaction to another Tatiščev removes possibly ambiguous expressions and misunderstandings in interpreting those of Roman's instructions that might be unclear to some. Finally, at the very end of the excerpt from the unknown chronicler Tatiščev inserts a note, absent in the first redaction, that Roman, leaving Kyiv in anger, leaves Ihor Jaroslavič there.[21] This is Tatiščev's own hypothesis, inspired by analogy with Roman's first capture of Kyiv in 1202 (in 1201, according to Tatiščev).

As is evident, Tatiščev's changes in the second redaction, as compared to the first one, far exceed the limits of admissible and sometimes inevitable inaccuracies in the translation. This is, properly speaking, not so much translation as editing of a text.

Therefore, it can be concluded from these observations that Tatiščev treated the text of Roman's project, which was inserted in the main account, in the editorial manner characteristic of him, making no distinction between it and his own texts.

Tatiščev also provided the text of Roman's project in the first redaction with a note (n. 429), which was later significantly corrected in the second redaction. In the first redaction Eropkin was cited as his informant without any hesitation. Absent here is any reference to the "ancient style" of the Novgorod chronicler, and the very important mention of co-translation. There is no assurance that the informant (that is, Eropkin) preferred monarchy to all other forms of government.[22] Therefore, if the first redaction of the note is to be believed, no co-translating was undertaken and thus, until the creation of the second redaction of the *Istorija*, the text remained in its "ancient dialect." Only then did Tatiščev translate it into the modern language, that is, at the same time as the rest of the text of the *Istorija* (it should be noted that Tatiščev was going to give the translation to certain monks, and probably did so).[23]

The second redaction of the second part of the *Istorija* was completed by Tatiščev in mid-1750, shortly before his death.[24] All the time between 1746 and

1750 he stayed continually in Boldino and received scholarly news only from the books received from the Academy, and correspondence. Thus, corrections of the text of Roman's project were not supported with new data and were connected exclusively with the authorial activity of Tatiščev himself.

When, however, did Tatiščev get the text of Roman Mstyslavič's constitutional project? If both versions of Tatiščev's note are considered believable, then it would not be difficult to determine the upper limit. Both the councillor of the Equipage Office (*Ekipažnaia Kontora*) A. F. Xruščev and the court architect P. M. Eropkin were entangled in the plot of A. P. Volynskij and shortly executed. Therefore, Tatiščev had to receive the text from one of them at least before 1740. After that date neither of them could have communicated with the historian. More precisely, it could have happened during Tatiščev's stay in St. Petersburg in 1739, when he brought the first version of the *History* and actively discussed it, in particular with the members of Volynskij's circle. This date, as we shall see, is another, and probably the most important, of Tatiščev's contradictions.

The presence of the text of Roman's project in the first redaction of the *Istorija* does not, at first sight, contradict Tatiščev's testimony. In some form, Tatiščev's text was ready by 1740. But in that version of the *Istorija Rossijskaja* the text of Roman's project was not present. This could be concluded from the German version of the notes to the second part of the *Istorija*, the Russian translation of which was published in the seventh volume of the last edition (codex of the Rossijskaja gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov [RGADA], fond 181, no. 6 [1374]).[25] This text (or more correctly, its Russian original), as O. I. Andreev and S. N. Valk suppose, was sent by Tatiščev to the Academy in late 1739.[26] In this version of the notes reflecting the state of the work as of 1739, there is no note concerning Roman's project. Consequently, there was no corresponding place in the text of the *Istorija*. Moreover, from 1740 Tatiščev was under surveillance and was confined in the Petropavlovsk fortress. In the following year, not having finished his work, he left the capital with a new appointment, at first to Caricyn. In the same year he was appointed the governor of Astraxan′, where he arrived on 25 April 1743, and had to stay until late 1745. After his dismissal he spent the winter of 1745–1746 in his son's village near Simbirsk and later, on his own estate at Boldino.[27] The completion of Tatiščev's work on the second part of the *Istorija* in the "ancient dialect" relates precisely to this time. Only in May 1746 was he able to send the text of his work to the Academy of Sciences.[28] The text sent by Tatiščev to the Academy of Sciences is the same Academy codex that forms the basis of the fourth volume of the last edition.

The codicological peculiarities of the Academy codex are very important for our topic. It turns out that Tatiščev did not stop work on the codex in either Astraxan′ or Boldino. "The Years between 1741 and 1746 clearly told on the fate of the text included in our manuscript. *Precisely here two alternating layers of folios, each having a different numeration of the references to the notes, are sharply distinguished* [here and below emphasis is mine—O.T.]."[29] It is this circumstance marked by a modern editor that allows us, to date the time of the

appearance of Roman's project in the text of the *Istorija* quite precisely.

The first layer of folios, the early one, has references to the note numbers corresponding to their initial quantity—434. But later the initial numbers on these folios were corrected with new ones corresponding to their final quantity, which grew to five hundred. Another, newer layer of folios has only the final numeration, and we do not see any number correction here. "Doubtless, these folios did not need any correction of note numbers because *they were copied again at the time when the new notes had already been compiled and the new numeration was set.*"[30] It is very revealing that the folios where the text of the 1203 project is found belong to the later layer, as is seen from the comparative table compiled by S. N. Valk (namely, the concluding page of Roman's project text is the last page of the sixth series of newer folios). S. N. Valk's conclusion is very significant:

> This circumstance alone, that for one part of the pages it was enough only to correct the note numbers but not necessary to correct the text, while other pages needed not only correction to the note numbers but also the copying of the whole text, shows *that the text of the last group of pages with corrected numeration is not the primary text of 1741*, but the text as essentially corrected by Tatiščev in the following years and therefore needed to be copied anew. In other words, *this text reflects the result of Tatiščev's work not before 1741 but as a result of his persevering . . . work on the text during the following five years, which was finished only in 1746.*[31]

It is thus clear that there is every reason to suppose that the new folios, including the text of Roman's testament, reflect the condition of the manuscript as it was being prepared to be sent to the Academy. They appeared in Boldino immediately before that. Therefore, Tatiščev must have obtained the project of 1203 only in Boldino in 1746. In the first version completed in 1741, this text was absent. But in 1746 neither Eropkin, mentioned in the first redaction of the note, nor Xruščev, indicated in the second redaction, could have given this text to Tatiščev, for the simple reason that they had both already been executed (we discussed above the disingenuousness of the information about co-translation with Xruščev). Evidently, they did not give him this information. Additional confirmation of the fact that the note, with its explanation of the circumstances by which the manuscript of the 1203 project had been obtained, appeared at the last moment, is the comparative table of numeration compiled by the editors of the *Istorija*. It turns out that the initial version (Academy codex) did not contain such a note (nor did the German notes of 1739). It appears only in the final version of 1746 (the second numeration of the Academy and the primary numeration of the Voroncov codices), as no. 429. From there it proceeds in edited form to Miller's edition as no. 569.[32] The note is firmly connected with the text of Roman's project, and if it appeared only in 1746, it is necessary to recognize that the very text had to appear at the same time.

We must therefore choose between two options: either we recognize the text of the constitutional project of Roman Mstyslavič of 1203 as the creation of

Tatiščev himself, or we must suppose that in 1746 (and only in that year) he made up his mind to insert this document into his *Istorija* (which does not exclude Tatiščev's authorship).

Let us examine the second assumption. Given some sympathy for the historian, some hesitation on Tatiščev's part concerning the informant's name could be regarded not as an attempt to conceal the real origin of the document, but as the result of certain political considerations. Indeed, up to a certain time both Eropkin and Xruščev were not apt figures to mention, since they both were *personae non gratae* during the reign of Anna Ioannovna. As participants in the Volynskij plot, they were not the most convenient acquaintances. Their participation in the *Istorija* could have cast a shadow of political disloyalty upon it. It is known that Tatiščev does not mention Volynskij himself in the first redaction. All the same, they were both equally dangerous in 1739–1740. However, in 1741, and all the more so in 1746—during the new reign, of Elisabeth—it was already safe to mention them. Moreover, the substitution of names would have made sense if one of them had not been connected with the case of Volynskij. If both of them belonged to it, however, reference to them would be of equal value from a political point of view, and the substitution would be senseless.

Nevertheless, the very presence of these names in the context of Roman's project is a very important trace. It is well known that Tatiščev himself sympathized with the "confidants" of Volynskij and was not arrested together with them only because he was already imprisoned in the Petropavlovsk fortress on charges of abuse in the Orenburg Commission.[33] In 1739, however, having come to St. Petersburg, Tatiščev found intellectual support and assistance precisely among the circle of people close to Volynskij (among them Eropkin and Xruščev). Tatiščev read chapters from the *Istorija* at gatherings at Volynskij's. As D. A. Korsakov wrote, the "reading of the *Istorija Rossijskaja* raised in the hot heads of Volynskij and his collocutors a host of questions and *analogies between modern events and the past.*"[34] The last phrase is the key to understanding the origin of Roman Mstyslavič's project. It is not difficult to see an *analogy* between Roman's ideas and those of Volynskij's confidants. The appointment of the monarch by election, limitation of his competence by a council of nobles[35] and, finally, the problem of inheritance of the throne, painful in the times of Anna Ioannovna—all coincide. Thus, the constitutional project of 1203 is a political tract the idea of which originated in the circle of Volynskij's confederates, apparently in 1739. Roman Mstyslavič's project was to be a *sui generis* predecessor and historical sanction of Volynskij's "General Project." Xrusčev or Eropkin could scarcely have been the authors of this text. They were both amateurs and Tatiščev, it seems, accurately estimated their abilities. Probably one of them gave him the idea itself, but later, after seven years, he could not definitely remember whether it had been Eropkin or Xruščev. The only person from this circle capable of creating an imitation of this kind was Tatiščev himself.

Indeed, writing his *Istorija* over many years in an "ancient dialect" and

imitating both the language and form of an old Rus' chronicle, Tatiščev possessed all the necessary instruments for such an undertaking. While finishing the work in 1745 he even complained that it was difficult for him "to shake the verbal habits gained in the process of working with texts written in an ancient language."[36]

Let us note, first of all, that the ideas put by Tatiščev into Roman's mouth are indeed the favorite ideas of Tatiščev himself. The very model upon which Roman's ideas are stilled, namely the election of emperor by seven or nine electors in The Holy Roman Empire, appears in yet another Tatiščev's work of the same period—"Proizviol'noe i soglasnoe rassuždenie i mnenie sobravšegosja šljaxetstva russkogo o pravlenii gosudarstvennom."[37] Though in this text as in a note to Roman's project Tatiščev rejects the necessity of the application of such a bad custom to Russian political culture, it proves nevertheless that for a certain time the historian was playing with the idea. Besides, the very rejection in both documents is made almost in identical expressions, that reveals their possible connection. Thus, Roman proposes establishing the order of inheritance of the princely thrones from father to son or, as is emphasized in the second redaction, to the one "who is the eldest in the line of his family" (see above). This is, however, not only the idea but also the phraseology of Tatiščev! Thus, for example, in the special note no. 508 to Chapter 25(26) concerning Andrej Bogoljubskij's statement about his own nobility, Tatiščev writes: "Andrej, as is evident, illegally demanded that seniority be determined in the ascending line, but according to all the laws the descending line was legal; *this disorder in seniority was long ago turned to the great harm of the state*, no. 359, 378, chapter 46."[38] Compare Roman's text: "If someone has no son, it should be given to the eldest brother after him or to that one who is the eldest *in the line* of his family *in order that the Rus' land should not decrease in strength*."[39] The notes that Tatiščev advises the reader to take into account treat the same subject: the troubles in the country due to the unregulated succession procedure. In note 378, for example, the idea of primogeniture appears for the first time: "This disorder, that the uncles were preferred as inheritors of the throne to the sons of the deceased prince, was a great dissipation and the cause of destruction, as is seen in the example of Mstyslav, but Tsar Ioann II prohibited this by law."[40] Compare, in the project: "In order that local princes not grow scarce, they should not divide their land among their children, but give the throne after them only to the eldest son, with all the possessions . . . You know well that when the princes in Rus' were not numerous and they obeyed the eldest one, then all the neighbors feared and respected them, not daring to attack the Rus' territories, as we can see today."[41] From note 359 it becomes clear that Tatiščev was concerned by the problem of election of the Kyivan prince:

> This election of the ruler [Volodymyr Monomax—O.T.] is introduced by mistake; for it can be seen from many circumstances that the Kyivans had no power in this, and the throne was taken by the existing heirs according to the law, or by testaments, or by force . . . But here another ground for election can be considered as the real one: Svjatopolk did not have a worthy son remaining and the others were equal by relationship.[42]

In the project, Roman begins his epistle to the princes by proclaiming the primacy of Kyiv and describing the harm to the city caused by internecine strife: "Kyiv is the oldest throne in the whole Rus′ land . . . The throne is seized by younger and inexperienced people who are incapable of either governing others or defending themselves; often a war begins between brothers; they bring pagan Polovtsians to destroy the land . . . " Precisely for this reason, primogeniture was needed. It appears, however, that Roman develops the idea, already expressed by Tatiščev in note 509 to the above-mentioned chapter 25 (26):

> Kyiv, although it was honored because of its venerable age as the capital of the grand princes, tempted them to acquire it, and great internecine strife and bloodshed took place with ruination of their subjects, as a result of which there was no city in Rus′ that suffered as much as Kyiv. But the princes, through their unwise division of the cities belonging to them among their children, came to such a state of debility that they were forced to obey the wishes of others (no. 191, 263, chap. 46).[43]

Thus, it turns out that Tatiščev composed the project of Roman on the basis of his own ideas scattered throughout the text of the *Istorija.* The disorder in the Rus′ state system in Tatiščev's view was the principal reason for the future Rus′ defeat at the hands of the Mongols. This event, as is obvious from his numerous remarks and notes, was painful and humiliating for him—he was trying not only to explain this moment of national shame to his readers, but also to psychologically console himself. It should be noted that in Tatiščev's scheme the Mongol invasion was the major turning point for all of Russian history and the initial plan for *Istorija Rossijskaja* was to write its text up to the unfortunate period of 1237–1240 but no further. The metatextual connections of the ideas of Roman's project with the Mongol invasion thus explain the proper place of this "document" in the general construction of Tatiščev's work. And indeed, Roman demands the correction of everything that disturbs Tatiščev in Rus′ history, and which he sees as the primary faults of the Rus′ state system. It seems that in the portrait of Roman Mstyslavyč, Tatiščev gives Rus′ history a chance to mend its ways "just on the eve of the invasion of the Mongol-Tartar hordes." It is important for us, however, that practically all these notes were entered by Tatiščev in preparing the definitive version of the first redaction, or else during his work on the second redaction, that is, he was concerned with the ideas set out there simultaneously with his "discovery" of the text of Roman's project. (Note well, though, that in each of the notes cited above in the *Istorija*—where analogous issues are raised—Tatiščev does not once mention the project of Roman, clearly a subject advantageous for his topic!)

Having understood the problem of the authorship of the constitution of 1203, we can also understand something of the technique of stylization. In general, Roman's rhetoric strongly resembles the tone of the chronicle account of the preparations for the Ljubeč council. Tatiščev topically reconstructs precisely the situation in 1097: the humiliation of those responsible for the strife (Oleh Svjatoslavyč, Rjurik Rostyslavyč), the project of reformation of inter-princely

relations, the proposal to hold a council, and the total fiasco that resulted. Nevertheless, the Ljubeč council became for Tatiščev a source not only of inspiration, but of textual borrowings. Compare:

Primary Chronicle	*Tatiščev*
Придоша Святополкъ и Володимеръ... и сняшася Любячи *на оустроеье мира.* (1097)	Седя же Роман во Киеве, нача гадати со князи и дружиною о *устрое Руские земли.*
Святополкъ и Володімеръ посла къ Олгови, глалолюща сице: Поиду Кыеву, да *порядъ* положимъ о Русьстѣи земли. (1096)[44] Придѣта на столъ отецъ наших и дѣдъ наших, яко то *есть старѣишей град въ земли во всеи Кыевъ*, ту достойно снятися и *поряд* положити. (1096)[45]	Посла ко Всеволоду... и ко всем местным князем.., реки има тако: "Се, брате, весте, оже Киев *есть старейший стол в Рустей земли* и достоит на нем княжити старейшему.., абы могл управити добре... и содержати *поряд* во братии..."
Почто *губим Руськую землю, сами на ся котору дѣюще*, а *половци* землю нашу несуть розно. (1097)[46]	Ото ж востает рать межи братии, ведут *поганых* и *губят землю Рускую* и пачее *котору во братии* воздвижут.
Володимеръ же слышавъ, яко ятъ бысть Василко и слѣпленъ, оужасеся, и всплакавъ, рече: *Сего не бывало есть в Рускои земьли ни при дѣдѣх наших, ни при отцих наших.* (1097)[47]	А Всеволод... отрече Романови, глаголя: Се, брате и сыну, *испокон тако не бысть*. И яз не могу преступати, но хосчу тако быти, *яко бысть при отцех и дедах наших.*

It is not superfluous, of course, to recall that for Tatiščev this was hardly the sole instance of the introduction into the *Istorija* of tracts which, one way or another, originated in the circle of Volynskij. The "fragment of the Polack chronicle" placed by Tatiščev under the year 1217 was noticed long ago (and, à propos, in a note Tatiščev also names Eropkin as his informant).[48] This is the subject of this excerpt: The Polack prince Boris, having married his second wife, Svjatoxna, the daughter of the Pomeranian prince, who secretly remained Catholic, indulges her and her Pomeranian milieu in everything. For this purpose, he even sends away his sons from his first marriage, Vasyl'ko and Vjačko, whom their stepmother had previously sought to destroy. The Pomeranian interlopers set up house in Polack, Svjatoxna decides to conspire with them even against Boris and his sons (for she plans to transfer the throne of Polack to her own son Volodymyr-Wojciech), and finally the people, enraged by foreign rule,

and led by Rus′ boyars, throws off the Pomeranian yoke and passes judgment on them. In the words of D. A. Korsakov:

> The analogy of the situation of Polack in the the thirteenth century with the situation of Russia in the reign of Anna Ioannovna is striking. The role of the Pomeranians is equivalent to that of the Germans, and the fate of the sons of Boris by his first marriage recalls the fate of Elizaveta Petrovna [with whom, we may add, Volynskij and his confederates greatly sympathized—O.T.]. Likewise, one cannot ignore the similarity between the situation of Svjatoxna and Biron, and that of the son of the former, Vladimir-Wojciech, and Anna Leopoldovna.[49]

In this case D. A. Korsakov simply reiterated the opinion of Lyžyn, based on his interpretation of the contents of the "Polack chronicle."[50] If one looks more closely at this text, it turns out that the method used in working on it is totally identical with what has been demonstrated with regard to Roman's project. It is the same lexicon and syntactical constructions, which betray an eighteenth-century author,[51] the same abuse of the conjunctions *ač*, *iž*,[52] *aby*, and so on (with the first two sometimes being used erroneously in the sense of the conjunction "but"). There are also direct textual parallels here with the project of Roman and his chronicle source, which betray the hand of one and the same author:

Primary Chronicle	*1203*	*1217*
Святополкъ и Володімеръ посла къ Ольгови, глаголюща сице: *Поиду Кыеву, да порядъ положимъ о* Русьсти земли (1096)	Посла ко Всеволоду... реки има тако: Се, брате, весте, оже Киев есть старейший стол в Рустей земли и достоит на нем княжити старейшему... абы могл *управити добре*... и содержати *поряд* во братии...	Люди же полоцстии... начаша Бориса просити о сынех, абы *привел я Полоцку* и о *волостех поряд положил*, иж Василько можаше добре люд правити.

The example to be imitated in the article of 1217 is also understandable. If the Ljubeč council was chosen as the prototype for Roman's project, then for the description of the Polochanian disturbances it was the Kyivan uprising of 1147. Compare, for instance, the description of Izjaslav Mstyslavyč's diplomatic mission to the Kyivans with that of Vasyl′ko to the Polochanians:

Hypatian, 1147	*Tatiščev, 1217*
В то же время *Изяславъ посла Киевоу*, къ братоу своемоу Володимироу... и *къ Лазореви тысячскомоу* и рече имъ: *Созовите* Кияны на дворъ къ Святѣи Софьи, ать мои посолъ *явить* рѣчь мою *к ним* и скажеть *льсть черниговьских князии*. Кияном же всимъ *съшедшися* от мала и до велика къ святѣи Софьи на дворъ. Въставшем же имъ в вѣчи, рече имъ Изяславль посолъ: Цѣловалъ вы *князь свои*. Азъ бяхъ *вамъ явилъ* се: доумалъ есмь со братомъ своимъ Ростиславом и съ Володимиромъ [и] съ Изяславомъ Давыдовичема поити на стыя своего... Се же *вы являю*: се Володимеръ Давыдовичь и Изяславъ и Всеволодичь Святославъ... надо мною лесть оучинили, хотели бо мя яти, любо оубити... Ти бо соуть не мене одиного хотѣли оубити, но и *вас искоренити*. То же слышавше народ, оттоле поидоша на Игоря...[53]	*Василько* ж не иде сам, *а посла лист к полочаном* с паробком своим... Он же, пришед, яви лист той *тиуну Жирному*. И той, нощию *созвав* неколико добрых муж, *яви има* и начат просити со слезами, иж бы попрямили *князем своим*. Тии же, познавше *лесть Святохнину* и *свою гибель*, заклявшеся вси и уложивше помалу намовити люди и созвати на вече. И на Спасов день, управившеся, зазвониши на вече, и егда *снидошася* людие, прочтоша лист Васильков... Тогда вси смятошася и приступивше ко двору княжу.

The imprisonment of the princess after the meeting, evidently, has the analogical actions of the Polovtsian khans in 1091 and 1095 as the prototype:

Святополкъ же... изъымавъ слы, всажа *и в ыстобъку*[54]	вземше княгиню, *запроша и в ыстобце*[55]
И яко влезоша въ истобку, тако *запрени* быша[56]	

The description of the robbery of the invading Pomeranians by the people, although very stereotypical, perhaps is taken from the chronicle episode of the robbery of Hlib Rostyslavič's detachment by the Polochanians and the Druchans in 1159:

...А Глѣба Ростиславича *выгнаша* и *двор его разграбиша* горожае, и дружину его[57]	А поморян и любовников ея, испытав и облича, избиша, а *домы разграбиша*, и инех *изгнаша*[58]

It is possible, however, that Tatiščev's "Pomeranians" are the same people as the "Suzdal'ci" who were killed by the Kyivans after Jurij Vladimirovič Dolgorukij's death: "И много зла створися в тъ день: *разграбиша дворъ его* красный и другый дворъ его за Днѣпромъ разъграбиша... *Избивахуть суждалци* по городомъ и по селомъ, а товаръ ихъ грабяче."[59]

It is interesting that Tatiščev himself wrote about this method of composition of his own texts from the words of his sources in the above-mentioned German version of "Predyzveščenija" in 1739: "Where anything was incomplete or unclear, I have completed it, *but using the same words* that are found in the manuscripts . . . "[60]

Evidently, it is possible to continue the search of the chronicle accordances which served as the building material for the creation of the "Polack Chronicle," but this would go beyond the goal of this article. What is important is that, first, Roman's project is not a unique occurrence in the *Istorija*, since Tatiščev had dared earlier, for whatever reason, to insert political tracts into his work and second, both insertions have clear indications of the same hand. The "Polack Chronicle" is present already in the first version of the *Istorija*, before it was sent to the Academy (and, correspondingly, before Roman Mstyslavič's project was "found"). As has been mentioned, Tatiščev noted that he copied this fragment from Eropkin's chronicle and was not able to make more detailed excerpts only because of the lack of time, and later because he ordered the chronicle to be copied.[61] Tatiščev held to this version while sending his *Istorija* to St. Petersburg as well as in the second redaction. If so, we can assume why Eropkin was substituted by Xruščev in the note concerning Roman's project. It looked suspicious to have two tracts from a single person. However, another reason is also possible. Tatiščev knew that after the execution of her husband, Xruščev's widow sold off his library. Thus, he could hope that this circumstance would protect him from verification.[62]

Tatiščev's hesitation with the informant's name, it seems, can help us to determine the upper limit for the substitution of names in the note on Roman's project. For obvious reasons, it could not have happened before 1746 (the date when Roman Mstyslavič's project was "found"). It is known, however, that at the moment when the text of the second part of the *Istorija* was sent to the Academy, the first part was not yet complete, and the historian had to reconcile himself to this unpleasant fact. He included with his manuscript only a short account of the previous material. He finished his work on the first part only later.[63] Having indicated both Eropkin and Xruščev in the second part, Tatiščev had to mention both of them in the first part as well, in chapter 7, "On the Codices or Manuscripts Used for This Collection": "Besides those [that is, the above-mentioned manuscripts—O.T.], from different people interested in Russian history who diligently worked in this field, fallen into misfortune, such as Volynskij, the *councillor Xruščev and the architect Eropkin* who, having read my collection, additionally provided me with information from ancient Russian chronicles, as is shown *in the notes to the second part*."[64] Therefore, at the

moment he was compiling this chapter, Tatiščev already had substituted Xruščev for Eropkin in the note on Roman's project. It is, by the way, possible to determine the *terminus ante quem* of the final correction of the text of Roman's project.

The earliest stage of Tatiščev's work on the first part reflects the codex of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (BRAN, Manuscript Division, Tatiščev coll. 13, 1.5.66).[65] In this codex, the chapters, beginning from the fifth (and including chapter 7), have a double numeration, changing every number by one (thus, the seventh chapter was number six according to the initial numeration). This change of numbers happened because Tatiščev inserted under number four a chapter on Ioakim's chronicle.[66] This circumstance allows us to date the completion of the seventh chapter as late as before the middle of 1748, when Tatiščev learned about Ioakim's chronicle and decided to introduce it in a special chapter. Therefore, the substitution of Eropkin for Xruščev happened after 1746 (completion of the Academy codex of the second redaction, where one could still find Eropkin) and before 1748 (when the seventh chapter of the first part was completed, and where both names are present).

True, Tatiščev may have had in mind here the mysterious Smolensk chronicle given to him by Xruščev, from which Tatiščev lavishly extracted data for the first and second volumes.[67] The chronicle itself is described by Tatiščev as follows: "It extends as far as Jaroslav's attack against Batu; but the end is not completed because the source from which it was copied disappeared, and it probably would be useful to find the end now."[68] For some reason, in the subsequent redaction Tatiščev omitted this characterization of the chronicle, which is contained in the Voroncov codex.[69] Of course, this manuscript hitherto has not been identified. It is intriguing due to several circumstances. First, its data either are unique or coincide only with the information of the no-less mysterious Raskol'niki chronicle. Second, in Xruščev's chronicle there were some data identical to the information of Polish annalists, in particular of Stryjkowski. For example, Xruščev's chronicle knows (according to Tatiščev) one of the versions of the legend about the gifts of Monomax. According to it, Volodimer Vsevolodovič received them from "the palatine of Korsun" during the Caffa campaign.[70] As is known, Stryjkowski related this legend, having borrowed it from Herberstein. Understanding his mistake, Tatiščev removes mention of Xruščev's chronicle from the second redaction.[71] Third, Xruščev's chronicle was known to Tatiščev already during the compilation of the first redaction, but he continued to add data from it even many years later, while working on the second redaction,[72] sometimes accompanying these additions with such unclear remarks: "In Xruščev's manuscript this battle with the great craft of Lithuania is extensively described, but I lost the excerpt at that time and it is inserted from Xruščev, in accord with others."[72] Finally—and this is the most important point for our topic—even in this case Tatiščev hesitates as to who deserves the credit for having discovered this chronicle, Xruščev or Eropkin. Describing under 1182 the intestine strife of "Vasyl'ko of Dorohyčyn" against

Volodimer Borysovič "of Minsk," Tatiščev provides the following note: "This is taken from *Eropkin's chronicle* and is omitted in others. It is evident from this that there were no historians at that time in *Volhynia,* or if there were, none of their works have survived."[73] In the second redaction, in the corresponding note, we read: "This is taken from *Xruščev's manuscript* and omitted in others. It is evident from this that someone *in the Polack area* completed Nestor's chronicle."[74] It is characteristic that Tatiščev not only changed the name of the chronicle owner, but also the place of origin of the manuscript. If in the first case the information in Xruščev's (Eropkin's) codex was of Volhynian origin (evidently, it was supposed to be connected with Vasyl'ko of Dorohyčyn), then in the second redaction it is given as deriving from Polack. In spite of this, however, in the chapter "On the Chronicle Writers after Nestor" Tatiščev states for some reason that Xruščev's chronicle was composed in Smolensk.[75]

Tatiščev clearly hesitated not only in the atribution of various information as between the manuscripts of Eropkin and Xruščev, but also in his indication of the length and nature of those chronicles. Sometimes he calls Eropkin's manuscript "*stepennaia*,"[76] sometimes "*letopisec*" (even though he always distinguishes the two). More frequently, he speaks of a "manuscript" or calls the book after its owner: "from Eropkin."[77] The origin of the chronicles varies as well. In note 597 of the first redaction Tatiščev wrote, "This is excerpted from the chronicle of Eropkin, from which it is evident that it was completed in Polack, for there are many things written in it about the princes of Polack, Vicebsk and other Lithuanian princes; but I did not have time to copy everything, and later I was not able to see it again, having heard it had been sent to be copied."[78] As we have seen, however, Tatiščev had noted earlier that Eropkin's chronicle was written in Volhynia, and having replaced "Volhynia" with the "area of Polack" in the second redaction, he also changed the owner's name to Xruščev.

The reader forms the impression that Tatiščev used Eropkin and Xruščev interchangeably as convenient (because silent and unavailable) witnesses in those cases where he knew with certainty that he could not find corroboration of his information.

Finally, it is evident that one should attempt to answer one more question: why did Tatiščev choose Roman Mstyslavič for the role of the reformer of Rus'? Indeed, if one were to imagine this prince exclusively on the basis of the chronicles it would appear that Roman scarcely merits the lofty reputation that he has in the historiography. Against this background the monumental image of the prince of Halyč, who is described in the introduction to the Galician-Volhynian chronicle of his son, seems quite unexpected. It would seem that Roman was not the best candidate for Tatiščev's intention. Tatiščev (and his vision of Roman) were strongly influenced, however, by the *Chronika* of Maciej Stryjkowski, which was translated specially for him. In Stryjkowski, Roman appears as a figure of all-Rus' significance; as of 1198 he appears as "at that time the most powerful man in Rus'."[79] But Roman in Stryjkowski is not only the most powerful Kyivan prince, not only "monarcha wszystkiej Rusi," but also an

unprecedented tyrant, conqueror of the Polovtsians, and cruel subjugator of Lithuania; in short, "In Rus' he became so powerful that he was great with regard to the other Rus' princes, so that he made vassals of some, expelled others from their principalities, and according to his wishes placed obedient ones in place of those he had forced out."[80] At the same time, in Stryjkowski Roman is endowed with reformatory and state ambitions. He transferred the capital of the "Rus' monarchy" from Kyiv to Halyč, which even later resulted, according to the Polish chronicler, in conflicts between Rus' princes.[81] We find the same image of Roman in the *Synopsis* based on Stryjkowski, a very influential work in Tatiščev's time and very intensively used by him. Although in Stryjkowski (as well as in the *Synopsis*) Roman is depicted as a negative figure, nevertheless it is an extraordinary and intriguing one. Against the background of the mediocre southern Rus' princes of the time, he was just the right person for the mission entrusted to him by Tatiščev.

I would like to complete these observations on the text of the constitutional project of 1203 with one last comment. The declaration of the inauthenticity of several (or even one) passage of the vast *Istorija Rossijskaja* should restore the suggestion, expressed long ago but unpopular for some time, that Tatiščev's text is the authorial construction of a modern historian, not an original source of pre-Mongol Rus' history. Although the *Istorija Rossijskaja* may contain, and evidently does contain, original text not "invented" by the author, today one can no longer permit oneself the luxury of using Tatiščev's work without a prior scrupulous source study analysis. Tatiščev's work is a far more complex and ambiguous creation than we might like. The conceptions of reliability, historicity, fantasy, and the historian's duty of a man of the early eighteenth century significantly vary from those of today. Perhaps there, where today we draw the boundary between these conceptions, a historian of Tatiščev's training saw nothing but another opportunity to prove the truth of the well-known aphorism: *historia est magistra vitae*.

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NOTES

* This article is an expanded and elaborated version of a seminar given at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in November 1995.

1. *PSRL* 1, col. 420.
2. It seems, however, more probable that all these events happened in 1203. See N. F. Kotljar, *Formirovanie territorii i vozniknovenie gorodov Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi IX–XIII vv.* (Kyiv, 1985), p. 119.
3. V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija Rossijskaja,* vol. 3 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 169–70.
4. M. Solov'ev, *Sočinenija*, book 1. *Istorija Rossii s drevnejšyx vremen*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1988), pp. 562, 706. In his note Solov'ev paraphrases Tatiščev without references.
5. O. Ključevskij, *Sočinenija v 9 tomax*, vol. 1: *Kurs russkoj istorii*, part 1 (Moscow, 1987), pp. 340–41.
6. S. Grushevskij, *Očerk istorii Kievskoj zemli ot smerti Jaroslava do konca XVI st.* (Kyiv, 1991), p. 267n4.
7. A. Rybakov, *Drevnjaja Rus'. Skazanyja. Byliny. Letopisi* (Moscow, 1963), p. 153; Boris Rybakov, *Kievskaja Rus' i russkije knjažestva XII–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 495–96.
8. Kotljar, *Formirovanie*, pp. 119–21.
9. P. Toločko, *Kiev i Kievskaja zemlja v period feodal'noj razdroblennosti* (Kyiv, 1980) p. 183; Petro Toločko, *Drevnjaja Rus'. Očerki social'no-političeskoj istorii* (Kyiv, 1987), p. 155.
10. Aside from Hruševs'kyj, it seems that only N. Popov in the last century (N. Popov, *Tatiščev i ego vremja. Epizod iz istorii gosudarstvennoj, obščestvennoj i častnoj žizni v Rossii pervoj polovyny prošedšeho stoletija* [Moscow, 1861] p. 463) and Mykola Kotljar in this century (Kotljar, *Formirovanie*) drew attention to it.
11. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 257.
12. See S. N. Valk, "O rukopisjax vtoroj redakcii vtoroj časti 'Istorii Rossijskoj' V. N. Tatiščeva," in: Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 2, pp. 18–19.
13. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 257, 304, var. 65, 67. It seems that only S. L. Peštič, due to his acquaintance with Tatiščev's manuscripts before the publication of the recent edition, where they are taken into account, noted this circumstance with wonder, but was very careful in his conclusions: "The same disparity [replacing Eropkin's name by Xruščov's—O.T.] takes place in note 569 (manuscript 429) to the well known fragment from the *Istorija* under 1203, where there is found Roman's proposition of election of the grand prince. In the manuscript Eropkin's name at first could be read as the one who gave the excerpt to Tatiščev, but later

Tatiščev with his own hand replaces "Eropkin" with "Xruščev," and it appears thus in the printed *Istorija.* As is evident, *at the time he was using the materials of the two chroniclers, Tatiščev did not have a complete and clear idea about them* [emphasis added—O.T.]." S. L. Peštič, *Russkaja istoriografija XVII veka*, part 1 (Leningrad, 1961), pp. 259–60.

14. S. N. Valk, *"O rukopisjax vtoroj redakcii,"* p. 19.
15. S. N. Valk, *"O rukopisjax pervoj redakcii vtoroj časti 'Istorii Rossijskoj' V. N. Tatičševa,"* in: Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 4, p. 24.
16. See Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 287, var. 453, 455.
17. See ibid, p. 287, var. 454, 456.
18. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 4, pp. 328–29.
19. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 169, 1–1.
20. See, for instance, ibid. vol. 3, p. 165 and vol. 4, p. 165; vol. 3, p. 168 and vol. 4, p. 328; vol. 3, p. 176 and vol. 4, p. 333; vol. 3, p. 183 and vol. 4, p. 340.
21. Hruševs'kyj supposed this information to be "very believeable" (Grusevskij, *Očerk*, p. 267); however, Kotljar is right here in believing this to be Tatiščev's own invention (Kotljar, *Formirovanie*, p. 119).
22. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 4, p. 457.
23. Valk, *"O rukopisjax vtoroj redakcii vtoroj časty,"* pp. 8, 12–13.
24. Valk, ibid., p. 8. Although Tatiščev had repeatedly made assurances that he was working on the translation of the *Istorija* into the modern idiom (see A. I. Andreev, "Perepiska V. N. Tatiščeva za 1746–1750 gg.," *Istoričeskij arxiv*, vol. 6 [Moscow and Leningrad], 1951, pp. 250, 252), generally, it should be considered that preparation of the second redaction lasted from 1749 until the middle of the following year. On 16 March 1749 in his letter to the councillor of the Academy of Sciences I. Šumaxer, Tatiščev asked him to hasten the mailing of the books so that, having finished the first part, he could set to work on the second part. In a letter to Šumaxer of 30 July 1750, Tatiščev reports that he has begun making a fair copy of the second part *(Perepiska V. N. Tatiščeva za 1746–1750 gg.*, p. 297).
25. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 7 (Leningrad, 1968), p. 140. In this version of the notes, their total number was 350. The text in which we are interested should have been placed between notes 316 and 317. See also the comparative table of note numeration in the German version, first and second redactions—ibid, p. 453.
26. S. N. Valk, "O sostave rukopisej sed'mogo toma 'Istorii Rossijskoj' V. N. Tatiščeva," in: Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 7, p. 32.
27. K. Bestužev-Rjumin, *Biografii i xarakteristiki. Tatiščev, Šlecer,*

Karamzin, Pogodin, Solov'ev, Eševskij, Gilferding (St. Petersburg, 1882), pp. 44–46.

28. S. N. Valk, "O rukopisjax pervoj redakcii vtoroj časti," p. 17. Tatiščev wrote to Šumaxer in his letter of 1 May 1746: "I shall send to the Academy a fair copy of the completed part of the Russian history; I hope I shall be able to mail it after ten days." Andreev, *Perepiska V. N. Tatiščeva za 1746–1750 gg.*, p. 250.

29. Ibid., p. 21.

30. Ibid., pp. 22–23.

31. Ibid., p. 23.

32. Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 4, p. 491.

33. See D. A. Korsakov, *Iz žizni russkix dejatelej XVIII v.* (Kazan', 1891), p. 324.

34. Ibid., p. 306. As is evident, this was a custom among Volynskij's accomplices. He himself liked at the "confidences" to talk about the contemporary state of the Russian empire, giving parallels between contemporary events and analogous occurrences from history. Moreover, the method of reading historical writings, where precedents for the contemporary state of affairs were mostly emphasized, similarly to the reading of Tatiščev was common for Volynskij and his confidants. In the same manner Justus Lipsius, brought by Eropkin, was read. Volynskij said about his commentaries on Tacitus, "This is not a book to be read in our time!" (ibid, p. 305).

35. These were also the ideas of Tatiščev himself. It is known that he is the author of the piece "Proizvol'noe i soglasnoe rassuždenie i mnenie sobravšegosja šljaxetstva russkogo o pravlenii gosudarstvennom" (here the polysemantic word *šljaxetstvo* is used instead of *dvorjanstvo*), where he came out in favor of limited monarchy. It is important that the ideas attributed to 1730 were still of interest to Tatiščev even after the reign of Anna Ioanovna, and the writing itself chronologically "stands closer to the definitive redaction of the *Istorija Rossijskaja* than even to the second redaction (1736)," S. L. Peštič, *Russkaja Istoriografija XVIII veka* (Leningrad, 1965), pt. 2, pp. 128–29.

36. Valk, "Rukopisi vtoroj redakcii vtoroj časti," p. 13.

37. Tatyščev, V. N. *Izbrannye proizvedenija* (Moscow, 1979), p. 146.

38. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 13

39. Ibid., p. 170.

40. Ibid. vol. 2, pp. 263–64.

41. Ibid. vol. 1, p. 170.

42. Ibid. vol. 2, p. 260.

43. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 249. Tatiščev refers to the precedent of

Volodimer's division of lands among his sons, accompanying his reference with the remark that "This division among children, to the great harm of the state, was begun by his father Svjatoslav, but after the death of Jaroslav it became worse, as is shown in chapters 44 and 45." Ibid. vol. 2, p. 234.

44. PSRL 1, p. 229.

45. Ibid., p. 230.

46. Ibid., p. 256.

47. Ibid., p. 262.

48. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, pp. 201–204, 267 (2nd ed.); vol. 4, pp. 353–54, 462 (1st ed.).

49. Korsakov, *Iz žizni russkix dejatelej*, p. 314. À propos, Korsakov himself had suspicions of a conscious falsification on the part of Tatiščev, blaming Volynskij.

50. Unfortunately, the work of the latter ("Dva pamfleta vremen Anny Ioannovny," *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk po otd. russkogo jazyka i slovestnosti* 7 (1858) 1: 49–64) remains unavailable to me. See also A. P. Sapunov, "Dostovernost' otryvka iz Polockix letopisej, pomeščennyx v 'Istorii Rossijskoj' Tatiščeva pod 1217 g.," *Čtenija v Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskikh* 1898 (3); V. S. Ikonnikov, *Opyt russkoj istoriografii,* vol. 2, pt. 1 (Kyiv, 1908) pp. 535–36; M. N. Tixomirov, *Krest'janskie i gorodskie vosstanija na Rusi XI–XIII v.* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 214–17 (an attempt to substantiate the authenticity of the document); L. S. Peštič, *Russkaja istoriografija* vol. 1, p. 249n103.

51. I shall only point out the most obvious stylistic mistakes.The word *gode* (*jako gode*) is used by Tatiščev in the sense of "as it should be," whereas in authentic Old Rus' texts it is used to indicate "as much as you like," *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka (XI–XIV vv.)* 2 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 147–48. *List* to mean "charter" begins to be used only in the Lithuanian period (ibid. vol. 4, p. 405). The word *podxoditi,* which Tatiščev renders as "to seek a way," is unknown to dictionaries. *Kljukovata,* formed by Tatiščev from the noun *kljuka* (lie, falsehood), could only have the form *kljukava* (although the feminine form of such an adjective is not fixed), see *Slovar'* vol. 4, pp. 223–24, I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka* 1 (St. Petersburg, 1893), col. 1230. *Dumčii* in the sense of "advisor" was obviously formed by analogy with later Muscovite titles; in an ancient Rus' text there could only have been the noun доумьца, доумьць, *Slovar'* vol. 3, p. 99; I. I. Sreznevskii, *Materialy* 1, col. 744. Finally, the author of the excerpt does not always know the precise meaning of the words he uses. Thus, *semo* (*sjudy*) is used to mean "immediately" (Iž six ne kazniši *semo,* jaz utro idu ot tebe). Likewise erroneously is the dual number (*vaju*) used to indicate the plural, which in general is characteristic of Tatiščev, who apparently did not distinguish these grammatical forms.

52. À propos, these two are not fixed by the dictionaries in this form, but are encountered only as *ače* and *iže*. This circumstance was pointed out in another context by Ie. M. Dobruškin, according to whose calculations the conjunction *ač* is encountered in the *Istorija* about a hundred times (E. M. Dobruškin, "O metodike izučenija 'Tatiščevskix izvestii'," *Istočnikovedenie otečestvennoj istorii* 1976 [Moscow, 1977], p. 85) and thus can be regarded as a characteristic trait of the authorial style of Tatiščev himself. I should note that such a form of the conjunction—*ač*—is typical of Ukrainian historical texts of the seventeenth century.
53. PSRL 2, cols. 351–53.
54. Ibid. 1, col. 217.
55. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 4, p. 354.
56. PSRL 1, col. 228.
57. Ibid. 2, col. 493.
58. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 4, p. 354.
59. PSRL 2, col. 489. The latest research on the "Polack fragment" is an article by O. L. Nazarova (E. L. Nazarova, "Russko-latgal'skie kontakty v XII–XIII vv. v svete genealogii knjažej Ersike i Koknese." *Drevnejšie gosudarstva Vostočnoj Evropy. 1992–1993* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 182–196. Not accepting altogether the authenticity of the information, the author is inclined to consider the "fragment" to be not a falsification by Tatiščev himself, but the result of a borrowing from a late, seventeenth-century chronicle. Nevertheless, another observation of hers supports the opposite conclusion. O. L. Nazarova points out the connection between the "Polack fragment" and other information in the *Istorija Rossijskaja.* Thus, in an entry of the following year, 1218, the Polack prince Vasyl'ko (a character of the "Polack fragment") is named, while another character of the fragment, Vjačko Borisovič, appears in the entry for 1223 during the defense of Juriev. In the first instance, Vasyl'ko of Polack is substituted for Vasyl'ko Romanovič of Halyč of Tatiščev's source, while in the second case the fact is borrowed from the First Novgorod Chronicle, but the strange details of the event are obviously invented by Tatiščev himself (including Vjačko's patronymic). Thus, after inserting the "Polack fragment" Tatiščev continues to bring persons known only from this text onto the stage. Such a connection between the "Polack fragment" and other texts of the *Istorija Rossijskaja,* not borrowed from it and unknown to other sources, is very suspicious and, contrary to the conclusions of O. L. Nazarova, compels us to doubt the authenticity of the "Polack Chronicle," however one might date it.
60. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 7, p. 59.
61. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 4, p. 462.

62. A. I. Andreev, "Trudy V. N. Tatiščeva po istorii Rossii," in: V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 1, p. 27.
63. A fair copy of the first part was ready, as is seen from Tatiščev's letter to Šumaxer from 30 July 1750. A. I. Andreev, *Perepiska V. N. Tatiščeva za 1746–1750 gg.*, p. 297.
64. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 1, p. 125.
65. S. N. Valk, "O rukopisjax pervoj časti 'Istorii Rossijskoj' V. N. Tatiščeva," in V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1963), pp. 59–60.
66. Ibid, p. 63.
67. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 2, pp. 216, 226, 235, 238, 315; vol. 3, pp. 250, 251, 253, 270; vol. 4, pp. 414, 416, 434, 451, 452, 469.
68. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 4, p. 414.
69. Cf. vol. 2, pp. 205, 309, var. 109.
70. Cf. vol. 2, p. 315, var. 36–36; vol. 4, p. 434.
71. Vol. 2, p. 315n312; vol. 4, p. 34n272. It is characteristic that Tatiščev substitutes the chronicle of Volynskii for the mention of Xruščev's chronicle in the note of the second redaction.
72. Cf. vol. 2, pp. 216, 226; vol. 3, pp. 253, 270.
73. Vol. 3, p. 270, note in the Voroncov codex.
74. Vol. 4, pp. 451–52.
75. Vol. 3, p.251; vol. 3, p. 300, var. 9–9.
76. Vol. 1, p. 122.
77. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 250.
78. Altogether, Tatiščev gives six pieces of information from Eropkin's chronicle in the first redaction. Two of them are attributed to Xruščev in the second redaction. This information is as follows: excerpt with the circumstances of the death of Andrej Bogoljubskij (vol. 3, p. 105); excerpt with description of the following execution of Andrej's wife by Myxalko (p. 113); information of Galician origin (p. 189); information of Polack origin (p. 203). Data with changed attribution are Roman's project, and an account of the war between Vasyl'ko and Volodimer Borisovič.
79. Tatiščev, *Istorija,* vol. 3, p. 261.
80. *Kronika Polska, żmudska i wszystkiej Rusi Macieja Stryjkowskiego* (Warsaw, 1846), p. 209.
81. Ibid., p. 211.
82. Ibid., pp. 211 and 224.

"On Ukrainian Separatism": A GPU Circular of 1926

YURI SHAPOVAL

In November 1918 the leader of the leftist Social Revolutionary party, Maria Spiridonova, who was in Bolshevik custody in the Kremlin (charged with organizing the July Left-SR putsch in Moscow), wrote an open letter to the TsK RKP(b) (Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party-Bolsheviks). Condemning the Terror, whose basic tool was the Extraordinary Commission (*Cheka*), she noted specifically:

> Just as in the French Terror, in Russia only the beginning was difficult, and what the Bolshevik "Chekists" turned it into surpassed all our possible fears . . . The correspondence in the newspapers by Chekist ideologues testifies to their unbelievable mental and moral poverty, and their eagerness to carefully protect their total independence, which can engender extremely difficult complications for their own Communist party. Very soon you are going to end up in the hands of your own "Cheka." Perhaps you are already in its hands.[1]

How serious were these "complications" noted by Spiridonova for the Bolshevik Party? In what way did the party itself end up in the hands of the organs of the Cheka-GPU, and the NKVD nurtured by it? On the basis of what principles did these organs act? What was determined by their initiative, and what by the initiative of the "ruling and steering power," that is, the party? Is it not surprising that even now, despite the great number of publications about the Bolshevik system and especially about its repressive punitive structure, one cannot always find complete answers to the questions posed? The wave of *perestroika* publications in the former USSR had ebbed completely by the end of the 1980s, but its results, unfortunately, still lack serious, above all scholarly documentary works about the functioning mechanism of the Cheka-GPU-NKVD, their place and role in the system of the Communist governing structure.

Nevertheless, it is certainly relevant to make quite clear how necessary this kind of inquiry is for the objective understanding of the nature and essence of the Communist regime. And at this point the example of Ukraine is very important. The Leninist-Stalinist leadership always considered Ukraine extremely significant, viewing it as a proving ground for testing their numerous political decisions, believing that retaining Ukraine in the composition of the Soviet Union, which was proclaimed in December 1922, was the chief condition for the very existence of its formation, with its center in Moscow.

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On February 6, 1922 the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in Moscow decided to abolish the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (All-Russian Cheka—VChK) and to create the State Political Administration—GPU—under the NKVD RSFSR. Reactions to these changes were clear in Kharkiv, at that time the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR) by the Regulation of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (VUTsVK) dated March 22, 1922. This regulation abolished the All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission for struggle against counterrevolution, speculation, and corrupt officials, and its local organs (Russian abbreviation—VUChK). The State Political Administration (GPU) of the UkrSSR under the NKVD UkrSSR was organized. Its local organs were the provincial departments created under provincial executive committees, acting on the basis of a special status approved by the Presidium of the VUTsVK.

The chief of the GPU UkrSSR, the Moscow Chekist V. Mantsev (at that time former head of the VUChK, who had been sent to Ukraine in 1919, and would be shot in 1938) was, with the approval of the GPU RSFSR, the exclusive representative of the latter in Ukraine. Special intelligence departments and transportation departments that were to carry on the struggle against crime in the army and in transportation on the territory of the UkrSSR, as well as the GPU troops in Ukraine, were subordinate to him.

The reform was aimed at transforming temporary and extraordinary security forces into forces to be included by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in a general system of the communist government structure. There was good reason for the chief of the GPU to simultaneously become People's Commissar of Internal Affairs. The activity of the GPU was supposed to be carried on under the supervision of the recently created Office of the Public Prosecutor. On November 15, 1923 the Joint State Political Administration (OGPU) was formed under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, with the aim of uniting all the efforts of the republics in the struggle with political and economic counterrevolution, spying, and banditry.

The head of the OGPU was Feliks Dzerzhinskii. In the UkrSSR, in accordance with the Moscow reforms of August 13, 1924, the VUTsVK and the Radnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) of the UkrSSR approved the statute on the GPU UkrSSR. It was legally confirmed that the GPU would be formed under the Radnarkom UkrSSR, and its Chief (he was at the same time an official of the OGPU USSR) would become a member of the Government with the right of a deciding vote. The GPU was to execute all tasks of the VUTsVK and RNK UkrSSR, and would be governed in its operations by the OGPU USSR. The supervision of cases opened by the GPU UkrSSR was to be carried out by the Prosecutor of the UkrSSR through an assistant specially appointed for this purpose within limits stipulated by legislative acts. From August 1923, the chief of the GPU UkrSSR was Vsevolod Balitskii, and in November of the same year he became a member of the Collegium of the OGPU USSR. On March 3, 1924 he also became chief of the NKVD UkrSSR.

Associated with his activity are facts and documents that testify that the Cheka-GPU always carried out a determined and purposeful struggle for the expansion of its sphere of influence, and in order to prove the necessity, expediency, and importance of its existence.[2] It is relevant to emphasize, moreover, that the security organs in Ukraine always acted under strict control from the center, which actually made them an obedient tool in the hands of the Moscow authorities. Let us recall that the All-Ukrainian Cheka (VUkChK) was formed on December 3, 1918. Already on July 3, 1919, by special legislation of the VChK, it was abolished. This was caused by several factors, one of the most important of which was the desire for continual control of the situation in Ukraine on the part of the Moscow leadership by placing its people in key branches. The above-mentioned regulation follows:

> 1. The VUkChK is abolished. 2. All local Chekas in Ukraine will be subordinate to, and be regulated by instructions and directions from, the VChK [All-Union Cheka]. 3. The VChK will delegate one of its members to Kyiv for purposes of providing information to the Radnarkom of Ukraine and for controlling how the local Chekas conduct their activities. Kurskii, Krasin, Dzerzhinskii.[3]

From that moment all changes in personnel and all central questions concerning the activity of security organs in Ukraine were decided only with the agreement of, or directives directly from, the Lenin-Stalin leadership. At the same time, this reveals that the security organs stated quite early and unambiguously that they would not permit anyone to take real control of their activity. Let us look at an example: In the official historiography of the VChK there is a vast amount of material about how local control was conducted by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspections. The real picture was somewhat different, as proved, for example, by Decree No. 11, dated March 4, 1921, of the Central Administration of the Extraordinary Commissions to Conduct the Struggle against Counterrevolution, Speculation, and Corrupt Officials (TsUPChREZKOM) under the Council of People's Commissars of the UkrSSR (formed March 17, 1920). In one of its paragraphs we read:

> Considering that the Cheka is the fighting organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is particularly important under conditions of intensified civil war that the civil war requires rapid and merciless reprisal against the enemies of Soviet power, [and that] the Worker-Peasant Inspection in its supervision over possible crimes by certain agents of the Cheka must guard especially against not becoming a support of the dissatisfied petty bourgeoisie, who are ready to grumble about the work of the Cheka.[4]

But "to grumble about the work of the Cheka," whose arsenal of activity from the very beginning included such illegal methods as taking hostages, massive shootings, and so on, appeared very difficult, not only because this organization was skillful in concealing its actions behind a mask of mystery and state necessity, but also because it coordinated its work with party organs and acted

as tools of the latter in solving many problems vitally important for establishing the Communist regime.

Not in vain did Dzerzhinskii repeat, "The Cheka must be the organ of the Central Committee, otherwise it will degenerate into the Okhrana [Tsarist Secret Police] or an organ of counterrevolution."[5] In February 1919, the TsK RKP(b) noted that "Chekas have been formed, exist, and work only as direct party organs according to its directives and under its control."[6]

Thus, from the very beginning the organs of the Cheka-GPU, established by the party under special conditions, appeared to receive "indulgence" for their present and eventual "sins." I was able to find an enormous number of documents that prove and brilliantly illustrate the multifaceted and mutual profitability of the Party-Chekist tandem. These relations have been characterized in particular by Mantsev's unique note to Stanislav Kosior, who headed the TsK KP(b)U from April 28, 1920, written on the official stationery of the Chief of the Cheka of Ukraine (Kharkiv, Myronosyts'ka Street, 8):

> Comrade Kosior, Boris Sokolnik is an anarchist, worked with the Communist underground in Ukraine. Then he went astray and was arrested by us for excesses. He was released by me upon his vow not to return to his former activity. He's a good guy. He had typhus. He needs some help. Perhaps money as well (for his underground work) and to help get him established. For his situation is a mess. V. Mantsev.[7]

A note on this document, written by an unknown hand, reads, "I gave him 7,000 karbovantsi."[8]

On May 29, 1920, the TsK KP(b)U made an announcement "To all Gubkoms [provincial committees] and Political Departments of the Army and Navy," in which it was emphasized that after their failure in armed struggle, "the counterrevolutionaries transferred their struggle with Soviet power to a different level. They are eager to penetrate into all organs of the military, economic, and administrative departments, so that sitting there, they can slow down and destroy all efforts of the Workers' and Peasants' government to organize the civic and economic life of the Republic."[9]

Further in this declaration it is noted that inasmuch as "the struggle with this form of counterrevolution is particularly difficult," the TsK KP(b)U "must first force" all commissars and Communists who work in the army to be constant informers for the special departments. Second, it suggests to all political departments of the army and the front, as well as the Political Administration of the Republic and important party organizations, that they delegate the most responsible, tested, and experienced party workers for the work of the Special Department.[10]

The above-mentioned characteristics of Cheka-GPU activity—especially the close alliance with party organs and even a readiness to substitute them in certain situations; an aura of secrecy creating the image of an organ that would use any methods exclusively in the interests of the state; and, finally, the real

possibility of using force (which always could be justified by the same "interests of the state")—all this compelled the Chekists to play a larger and more influential role in civil and political life, and to influence the decision-making process of the ruling party organs more strongly.

In Ukraine, all these processes were connected first of all with the activity of Vsevolod Balitskii, who headed the GPU-NKVD in Ukraine (with a short break) up to 1937, and then was repressed. It is with his name that the continual development of a negative attitude toward everything Ukrainian as "bourgeois-nationalist" is connected. Facts represented from histories and the document base also permit one to state that from the very beginning, the key role in the process of forming the party-political administration's ideas about the tendencies and conditions of civil life was played by the Secret Operations Administration, which was formed by Decree No, 20/114 of the VUChK, dated May 6, 1921. This administration (headed by the famous Chekist Iukhim Evdokimov, who also was later killed) at that time consisted of a political department, a special department, a department for the struggle with banditry, an operations department (supplementary), and an office.[11]

The first of these departments was given work on "political parties and political groups of a counterrevolutionary nature."[12] Many operational-information files that had been sent to the TsK KP(b)U are preserved in the Central State Archive of Civic Associations of Ukraine (the former Party Archive of the Institute of the History of the Party under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine) in Kyiv. For the period 1919–1921 they are dedicated mostly to the struggle with the phenomenon called "banditry." Moreover, scholars should be more careful and pay attention to what criteria defined the word "banditry" at that time. As a rule, these documents had the title "Operations-Information File #___ on the movement of banditry in Ukraine" for a given period of time.

These files were mainly functional and did not make claims to any particular political generalizations, nor did they make actual recommendations, but the "Conclusions" sections had concrete significance. For example, a file from September 13, 1921 states: "It is relevant to pay attention to the appearance of the unknown band in the Sloviansk'k district and the operations of the Pohorilyi band in Bakhmut. The attack on the *radhosp* [state farm] by the Zabolotnyi detachment is noteworthy. The general situation of the surrounding area is without any basic change."

At the same time, in the documents of that period we also find recommendations of a broader nature, to which party-state leaders paid careful attention. For example, on February 20, 1921, an employee of the Special Department of the TsUPChREZKOM, A. Formaister, sent Dzerzhinsky, Mantsev, and Ievdokimov a report about his work with a group of Chekists on investigating the political section of the Oleksandrivs'ke district (province):

> Banditry in Ukraine, and mainly in the Oleksandrivs'ke province and surrounding areas, has a massive, almost insurgent character. One has to be careful. On the one hand, as I said before, it is necessary to carry out thorough Chekist work, in order to ferret out weapons and pull out and destroy the very roots of the packs of bandits operating. On the other hand it is necessary to think about a way to destroy the foundation and conditions which engender this massive banditry. Here a radical change of tactics and methods of all Soviet organs is required.

What the author provides is an interesting characterization of the relationship between the Gubkom (the provincial committee), the Gubrevkom (the provincial revolutionary committee), and the Gubcheka (the provincial Cheka):

> Between the Gubkom and Revkom, on the one hand, and other institutions on the other, there is always constant tension, which eventually gets down to the personal level. The Gubkom and Revkom constantly view the Gubcheka as a stepchild, as an institution that brings only harm and stands in the way of their work . . . Through their relationship to the Gubcheka and their inappropriate interference, they only slow down the work done by the Cheka, which is minimal even without this . . . And as to the rest of the institutions, I can say that complete sabotage and a bourgeois attitude toward the situation are flourishing.[15]

The bulletins of the political department of the VUChk provide reports on the political mood relating to events in civic life. I was able to analyze a fairly large number of these bulletins, for example, those dedicated to the meetings in Kharkiv in connection with elections to the Kharkiv local council in October 1921. As a rule, in an addendum to these bulletins one can find documents which prove the existence of political parties and currents that are alternatives to the Bolshevik Communists. Thus, for example, during the elections that were held in the Kharkiv Railroad Car Workshops and Main Depot on October 28, 1921, candidates were nominated from the Ukrainian Communist Party (UKP), later labeled "nationalist" and eliminated (in the terminology of that time, "self-liquidated").

Among those whose names are enumerated, we can find activists who fairly soon became "clients" of the Chekists, in particular, Andrii Richits'kyi and Iurii Mazurenko.[16] One can compare this document with the GPU special report dated September 1923 on the state of the UKP. Its tonality is more categorical, creating the impression that its authors knew very well that their ideas would be taken into consideration. In this document, in particular, the presence of "liquidators"—the group that acted in Kyiv and criticized the leadership of the UKP—is noted. Six persons are named, among them a certain Savchenko, "an old member of the party who still works very closely in contact with the local provincial department of the GPU and Gubkom . . . "[17] Then it mentions the deepening of the "liquidator" current in Kyiv and about its transfer to the Katerynoslav Province and other locations:

> It is necessary to use all possible means to support and deepen the movement of liquidators in Kyiv, taking advantage of this current on the All-Ukrainian level. The underground work of the group of "liquidators" needs to be continued until the absolute majority ends up on their side, after which it would be possible to bring this work into the open, work that will lead to the final liquidation of the UKP. With respect to merging with the KP(b)U . . . we must avoid this question, because there is such a large number of Petliura elements in the UKP.[18]

A large number of documents of an analogous nature confirm how perceptible was the desire of the Chekists to establish a particular idea about the political opponents of Bolshevism, and also to expose potential enemies even in those forces which, in principle, did not reject collaboration with the Bolsheviks. This desire coincided with another powerful and, as proved later, uncontested tendency to fabricate different kinds of "cases," the formation of "counterrevolutionary" organizations and unlawfulness, as more and more authority ended up in the hands of the Chekists.

It is characteristic that the desire of the members of the Cheka to take on functions far from those which they were assigned quite often was pointed out by the Bolshevik leaders themselves. This was proved very clearly in Decree No. 2 by the TsUPChREZKOM dated January 15, 1921, and signed by Mantsev. It was stated in particular:

> Recently we have been able to observe that in the struggle with counterrevolutionary and other organizations some extraordinary Commissions and special departments use the so-called method of infiltrating their own agents into those organizations with the purpose of bringing to light and learning about the activity of specific persons as well as the whole organization. And it would appear as if by using this method, the role of the agent would be limited only to intelligence work, but often agents go from a passive observational role, which is supposed to stop crimes, to more active behavior, creating organizations, grouping specific individuals of the organization together, and sometimes pushing the passive anti-Soviet element and petty bourgeois into active work. And older comrades, responsible leaders, look at this kind of work through their fingers and are encouraging it, turning this tactic into a principle."[19]

One can understand from the decree that this kind of practice was condemned, and it was emphasized that the pursuit of creating organizations, "fanning the flames of cases or creating organizations, even with the purpose of discovering a suspected putsch—are criminal, because this kind of activity leads to a certain degeneration of our revolutionary organs for Extraordinary struggle into the old, gendarmerial spying institutions."[20] But as historic facts and documents have proved, political reality turned out to be stronger than any decree: "cases" and "counterrevolutionary organizations" were growing like mushrooms, and were fabricated on a large scale, especially when from the point of view of a certain political situation it was necessary to "brand" the

representatives of a given political category as "national counterrevolutionary," "wreckers," and even as representatives of a certain nationality. This is proved by documents that expose the mechanics of the work of the Cheka-GPU-NKVD organs, which gradually turned into the Bolshevik political police that during the years of the "Great Terror" (1936–1938) was very successfully used against many of its creators.

Another problem requires special investigation. It concerns not an organization imagined by the Cheka, but one that really existed. Voluminous materials prove that resistance to Bolshevik power, in Ukraine in particular, was definitely not mythical, and therefore the Communist regime's use of the Cheka-GPU-NKVD in its political plans legitimized the discovery and destruction of forces that actually struggled with the regime. This, however, is a subject for separate research.

Questions about the moral criteria which the Chekists organs were using require special serious analysis. Here one can point out one characteristic feature. From year to year, in instructions on how to select personnel, there are fewer and fewer references to loyalty to the proletarian cause. The leaders of the Cheka and later the GPU-NKVD were concerned above all with something else—the ability of the employees to be disciplined, to perform all tasks, to keep secrets in all cases. Instructions dating from the beginning of the 1920s require Chekists:

> . . . to be neat, clean, so that your external appearance will attract clients and provide the possibility of extracting everything you need from them . . . You should always remember the devices of the Jesuits, who did everything beneath the surface and revealed nothing, but were secretive, who knew about everything and knew only how to act.[21]

In addition, these Chekist documents, in particular decrees, left considerable testimony that arbitrariness, embezzlement, and amorality were permanent satellites of the entire history of the existence of the Cheka-GPU-NKVD. The official historiography of the USSR, which was interested in the romanticization of the security organs, did not mention this.

Finally, one should emphasize one interesting point, which has never been raised by scholars. As the documents testify, during the Bolshevik New Economic Policy (NEP), the Chekist organs, which developed under conditions of civil war, felt not only discomfort, but serious danger to their existence. First of all, NEP changed the financial economic situation of the "revenging sword of the revolution." This is noted in particular in an official statement, "On the Question of the State of the Organs of the GPU UkrSSR," prepared in January 1923 and signed by Vsevolod Balitskii.

Apparently this document was put together for Moscow, but a copy was sent as required to the TsK K(b)U. "The New Economic Policy," it was stated in the document:

> . . . which worsened the conditions for a significant number of the organs, which depended on government support, also exerted an extraordinarily negative influence on the conditions of the GPU (State Political Administration) organs. Having lost the real support of the other state organizations which had supplied us with extremely important products for secret work before "NEP," and which fully stripped us of this help after the transition to self-support because of a strict budget, which did not come anywhere close to corresponding to real needs, the organs of the GPU were compelled to decrease the tempo and character of work in those areas, which from the point of view of the defense of the Republic was a real crime.[22]

Noting the problems of the GPU, Balitskii touched on the decrease in "the numbers in the central organ and the periphery subordinate to it," having noted that on January 1, 1922, there were 21,970 official employees and as of July 1, 1923 only 9,737 persons.[23]

In this same document, the number of official and secret employees of the GPU is stated—sixteen thousand people.[24] It is also interesting that a "massive escape" of employees from the GPU was confirmed, among them members of the party.[25] As of January 1, 1922 there were 7,812 Communist members in the organs, and as of July 1 of the same year, 3,427 members.

"Therefore," wrote Balitskii:

> . . . for the first half of 1922 more than four thousand party members left the organs of the GPU . . . Insofar as this tendency, which is mainly a result of the terrible material conditions, is not localized, but has increased in the subsequent months, what is facing the organs of the GPU is the important task of stopping the decrease in the general number of party members, which means using all means possible for the improvement of the well-being and material conditions of the employees of the GPU.[26]

And these actions, naturally, were carried out, since the party viewed the organs as a support of their power. In turn, the Chekists did their work very well to repay the consideration given them by the state, as they continually extended their sphere of influence. This process began to reach its apogee in the middle of the 1920s, and was represented in the UkrSSR by the energetic activity of Vsevolod Balitskii.

Characterizing the state of the Communist organs of government security under the conditions of NEP, the author of the popular book *Die rote Inquisition*, Borys Lewytzkyj, noted, "The 'romantic terror' was over; the stage of bureaucratic direction of terrorist means had begun."[27]

It is characteristic that in 1926 in his political report to the Ninth Congress of the KP(b)U, Lazar Kaganovich, who from 1925 headed the TsK KP(b)U, decided to respond to the accusation of Karl Kautsky that the Bolsheviks had mastered the art of the political police better than the essence of the teachings of Karl Marx:

> We are not contesting that we have really mastered the art of the political, as he used the word, police, that the GPU does a pretty good job here. And if we could get Kautsky, we would give him a full opportunity to prove it for himself. We are not arguing on this account, because Kautsky doesn't know that the organization GPU not only does not stand against, but fully derives from, the teaching of Marx, because none other than Marx was the first to raise the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the idea of a harsh dictatorship which destroys any opposition of the exploited classes and their lackeys.[28]

In fact, the Cheka-GPU-NKVD wonderfully interpreted the Leninist-Stalinist understanding of Marxism. The result is clearly illustrated, for example, by the document which follows this commentary. This strictly classified official memorandum stamped "Classified. Not to be copied. Guard on the same scale with the cipher under the responsibility of the chief of the GPU," printed in 75 copies, appeared in the midst of the Bolshevik politics of "Ukrainianization" in September 1926. As is known, "Ukrainianization" was an integral part of *korenizatsiia* ("nativization")—the policy in the sphere of national relationships approved under the pressure of the "National-Communists" and Lenin's demand at the Tenth (March 1921) and Twelfth (April 1923) Congresses of the RKP(b). This policy was a result of the fact that tsarist Russia had exploited the non-Russian peoples, and as its legacy the USSR had inherited real economic and cultural inequality between the Russian and the non-Russian peoples.

It was decided to accelerate the development of the non-Russian republics. What was envisioned was their industrialization, the selection of personnel from representatives of the basic nationalities, the extension of education in the local languages, the development of national cultures, publications, and so on. It was stated that the party had to combat Russian chauvinism as well as local nationalism, but first the main accent was put on the necessity to struggle against autocratic (Russian) chauvinism. The policy of *korenizatsiia* had an important influence on the development of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR at that time, in particular, the Ukrainian people, because in practice it meant de-Russification. That is why it evoked such vigorous resistance from Russian chauvinists, including the high party leadership.

Stalin's attitude to this policy was ambivalent from the very beginning, because it stimulated the national self-consciousness of numerically large and small non-Russian peoples, and thereby their pursuit of real sovereignty, which increasingly went against Stalin's perception of the principle of national state construction. Thus, for Moscow, what was of primary significance was not the analysis of real national-cultural processes, but the constant struggle with different kinds of "national deviations" and manifestations of "bourgeois nationalism," a label which under these circumstances could easily be attached to simple loyalty to national traditions and patriotism.

This line was dictated by the continual increase of Russian influence in the party-governmental leadership, by a transition to a policy of accelerated industrialization (which required centralization of power), and by an increase in nationalistic moods among non-Russian peoples caused by assimilationist policies of socialization and forced collectivization, from which the non-Russian republics were then suffering on a greater scale than Russia and which was marked by the terrible masterpiece of Stalinist social-demographic engineering—the famine at the beginning of the 1930s.

The radical change of the party line on *korenizatsiia* occurred between the Sixteenth (1930) and Seventeenth (1934) Congresses of the VKP(b). Between 1930 and 1934, in all the non-Russian republics a purge of local communists and nonparty intelligentsia was carried out, and the majority of the personnel which had been brought up under *korenizatsiia* was destroyed.

When did the actual counter-Ukrainianization really begin? For a long time scholars thought the beginning to be 1933, the struggle with so-called Skrypnykism, that is, with the consequences of "nationalistic deviation," the leader of which was proclaimed to be the former People's Commissar of Education of the UkrSSR Mykola Skrypnyk (who under pressure of false accusations committed suicide on July 7, 1933). However, the document following this commentary proves that the countervailing force to the policy of "Ukrainianization" began significantly earlier.

The Communist Special Service was directly responsible for this new policy, the aim of which was to play a further significant role in the life of society. On September 4, 1926 the deputy chief of the GPU UkrSSR Karl Karlson, the assistant to the chairman of the Secret Section (SV) Osher Abugov, and the temporary deputy head of the First Department of the Secret Section Boris Kozelsky signed an official memo entitled "On Ukrainian Separatism." The essence of this important document lies in the fact that it was oriented towards the collection of all possible information about the adherents of "Ukrainianization," above all from a number of representatives of the "right" Ukrainian intelligentsia, that is, the milieu of Ukrainian intellectuals, in particular those who had returned (or planned to return) to Ukraine under the influence of the declared "Ukrainianization."

The authors of this closed letter sincerely explain why this was to be done:

> The fact that Ukrainian nationalists ceased the open struggle with Soviet power and formally acknowledged it does not mean that they have definitively reconciled themselves with the present state of affairs and have truly given up their hostile plans. Here evidently there is not a change of ideology, but a change of tactics . . . The term "cultural work" has been substituted for the call to the failed armed struggle for independence. The "cultural struggle" has gained immense popularity and has attracted into the ranks of its followers the overwhelming majority of the most prominent representatives of the Ukrainian counterrevolution.[29]

In this letter, the most dangerous centers of Ukrainianization from the point of view of the GPU, which used the circumstances of Ukrainianization in their plans, were designated. These were first of all the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs), "a prominent center of nationalism and a marvelous agitational tool"; and the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN), which "collected around themselves the dense mass of former eminent figures of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic)."[30]

The situation in the village was analyzed very thoroughly, as were the circumstances of the beginning of industrialization, and tendencies in the milieu of the Ukrainian emigration. And all this was aimed at the conclusion that "it is important to pay serious attention to the activity surrounding Ukrainian civic matters," to emphasize the increase in activity "of social and political strata hostile to us."[31] Therefore, parallel with official declarations of the party leaders, long before the open attack on "Ukrainianization," the GPU began (naturally with the knowledge of its own party leadership) its own counter-Ukrainianization, in this way preparing compromising material about anyone the Chekists thought to be "dangerous" for the Communist regime.

Knowing this, we can now understand how later, by the end of the 1920s, precisely the GPU-NKVD could crush the Ukrainian intelligentsia with such lightning speed. And now a question arises still requiring further investigation. To what extent were the activities of the sincere followers of "Ukrainianization" really dangerous for the Communist regime in Ukraine? To what extent, let us say, could the activity of the academic Mykhailo Hrushevks'yi, who returned from the emigration, harm the Bolshevik establishment? Objectively—to a great extent, insofar as Hrushevs'kyi, through his historical school, was working on the confirmation of the idea of Ukrainian sovereignty, that is, what in the following document is called Ukrainian "separatism."

The example of Hrushevs'kyi, who immediately after his return to Kyiv came under the very careful long-term observation by the GPU[32], vividly testifies to the entire tragic situation during what was proclaimed by the Bolsheviks as "Ukrainianization." Naturally, the tragic situation for those who adopted this policy was fundamental and long-lasting. "The increase in chauvinistic tendencies," we read in a letter of the GPU, "creates the necessity for the GPU organs to react expeditiously to this phenomenon, which has extremely important political significance."[33]

This postulate survived its creators. And in all periods of Communist rule in Ukraine, the main focus of attention of the Special Service was the struggle with Ukrainian nationalism, right down to the smallest hint of the rebirth of the idea of Ukrainian sovereignty or even any attempts to support Ukrainian national traditions based not on the folklore-ethnographic level, but in reality. Nevertheless, this is a subject for a future publication. For now I would like to call the reader's attention to a unique document dated 1926. It was discovered in Ukraine and has been published with the consent of the Ukrainian Security

Service. I hope that this document and my foreword will help further the development of investigation into the activity of the Bolshevik Special Services, broadening the conceptual and source base for an objective history.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Cheka	Extraordinary Committee [*Rus.* Chrezvychainaia kommissiia]
GPU	State Political Administration [*Rus.* Gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie]
Gubkom	provincial committee [*Rus.* gubernskii komitet]
Gubrevkom	provincial revolutionary committee [*Rus.* gubernskii revoliutsionnyi komitet]
Gubcheka	provincial Cheka [*Rus.* gubernskaia Cheka]
NKVD	People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [*Rus.* Narodnyi komissariat vnytrenikh del]
OGPU	Joint State Political Administration [*Rus.* Ob"edinennoe gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie]
Radnarkom	Council of People's Commissars [*Ukr.* Rada narodnykh komisariv]
TsDAHOU	Central State Archive of the Civic Unions of Ukraine [*Ukr.* Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhyv hromadians'kykh ob'iednann' Ukraïny]
TsK RKP(b)	Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party-Bolsheviks [*Rus.* Tsentral'nyi komitet Rossiiskoi Kommunisticheskoi partii (bol'shevikov)]
TsUPChREZKOM	Central Administration of the Extraordinary Commissions (to Conduct the Struggle against Counterrevolution, Speculation, and Corrupt Officials) [*Rus.* Tsentral'noe upravlenie Chrezvychainykh komissii]
UAPTs	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church [*Ukr.* Ukraïns'ka avtokefal'na pravoslavna tserkva]
VUAN	All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences [*Ukr.* Vse-Ukraïns'ka Akademiia nauk]
UNR	Ukrainian National Republic [*Ukr.* Ukraïns'ka narodnia respublyka]
VChK	All-Union Cheka [*Rus.* Vsesoiuznaia Cheka]
VKP(b)	All-Union Communist Party [*Rus.* Vsesoiuznaia kommunisticheskaia partiia]
VUTsVK	All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee [*Ukr.* Vse-Ukraïns'kyi vykonavchyi komitet]

NOTES

1. Open letter of Maria Spiridonova to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. See, *Rodina* 1990 (5): 50.

2. Some of these facts and documents are found in official historical research of the Communist security organs, for example, in *Vseukrainskaia Chrezvychainaia Komissiia—VUChK, 1918–1922* (Kharkiv, 1990), whose authors never once mention Balitskii's name.

3. Central State Archive of the Civic Unions of Ukraine, henceforth TsDAHOU, fond 1, opys 20, sprava 30, arkush 106.
4. TsDAHOU, fond 1, opys 20, sprava 640, arkush 33^{v}.
5. Cited in L. N. Maimeskulov, A. I. Rogozhin, V. V. Stashis *Vseukrainskaia Chrezvychainaia Komissiia—VUChK, 1918–1922* (Kharkiv, 1990), 2nd edition, reedited and supplemented, p. 94.
6. Ibid., p. 95.
7. TsDAHOU, fond 1, opys 20, sprava 166, arkush 53.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., arkush 75.
10. Ibid.
11. TsDAHOU, fond 1, opys 20, sprava 640, arkush 35^{v}.
12. Ibid.
13. TsDAHOU, fond 1, opys 20, sprava 642, arkush 234^{v}.
14. Ibid., arkush 350^{v}.
15. Ibid., arkush 359^{v}.
16. Ibid., sprava 641 arkush 25.
17. Ibid., sprava 1757, arkush 188^{v}.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., sprava 640, arkush 21.
20. Ibid.
21. *VChK-GPU.* Comp. Yu. Felshtinsky (Benson, Vermont, 1989), p.132.
22. TsDAHOU, fond 1, opys 20, sprava 1757, arkush 1.
23. Ibid., arkush 2.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., arkush 3.
26. Ibid.
27. Lewytzkyj, Borys. *Die Rote Inquisition. Die Geschichte der sowjetischen Sicherheitsdienst* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1967), p. 58.
28. Kaganovich, L. M. *On the Paths of Constructing Socialism.* (Kharkiv, 1926) p. 12.
29. "Ob Ukrainskom separatizme. Tsirkuliarnoe pis´mo Gosudarstvennogo politicheskogo upravleniia Ukrainy" (Kharkiv, 1926), p. 3.
30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., pp. 11–12.
32. For greater detail see V. Pristaiko and Yu. Shapoval, *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi i HPU-NKVD. Trahichne desiatylittia: 1924–1934* (Kyiv, 1996).
33. "Ob Ukrainskom separatizme," p. 1.

Figures 1–12 (following pages). Facsimile reproduction of the original document (12 pages). The document originally was entitled "Tsirkuliarnoe pis'mo Gosudarstvennogo politicheskogo upravleniia (Sekretnyi Otdel) Ob Ukrainskom Separtizme, printed in Kharkiv 4 September 1926. A photocopy of the original (which bears the copy number 66) is in the possession of the author. The pages are reproduced at eighty percent of their original size.

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО.

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ЦИРКУЛЯРНОЕ ПИСЬМО ГПУ УКРАИНЫ.

Об украинском сепаратизме.

Тактика „культурной борьбы" украинских антисоветских элементов с Советской властью, за последний период времени, все ярче и ярче вырисовывается в виде развития среди украинской общественности националистических идей сепаратистского характера.

Рост шовинистических тенденций ставит перед органами ГПУ необходимость своевременно реагировать на это явление, имеющее политическое значение первостепенной важности. С этой целью ГПУ УССР ориентирует местные органы о сущности, истории и тактике украинского сепаратизма, а также о тех задачах, которые в связи с этим стоят перед органами ГПУ.

Сепаратизм в истории укр. к.-р.

Сепаратистские идеи в украинском контр-революционном движении сыграли исключительную роль.

Тенденции, направленные к отделению Украины от России, развивались и практически оформлялись параллельно с ростом большевистского движения. Украинская мелкая буржуазия заговорила об отделении от Москвы тогда, когда ее благополучию стала угрожать опасность, в виде стихийного под'ема революционной волны.

Отделение Украины от России, декретированное универсалом Центральной Рады, явилось следствием утверждения в России Советской власти.

В период-же Керенщины, подавляющее большинство украинских политических партий и политических деятелей решительно отвергали возможность отделения Украины и добивались только автономии или федерации.

Украинская буржуазия не рискнула вести борьбу с Советской властью под флагом защиты своих классовых интересов.

Она предпочла классовое содержание ведущейся ею борьбы спрятать под оболочку национальных лозунгов.

Поэтому вся ожесточенная вооруженная борьба, протекавшая в течении нескольких лет между Советской властью и украинской контр-революцией, была построена по такой схеме:

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Советская власть выставила лозунг классовой войны. Основными кадрами Советских войск были рабочие России и Украины. Украинская буржуазия пыталась использовать то обстоятельство, что среди пролетариата мало неруссифицированных украинцев. Ее представители выбросили знамя защиты всего украинского народа от порабощения его „московскими захватчиками". Они стремились доказать, что Советская власть, под флагом социальной борьбы, ведет политику национального угнетения украинского народа и превращения Украины в колонию Московского империализма.

Благодаря такой тактике украинской буржуазии, вся долгая борьба между нею и Соввластью была окрашена ярко выраженными националистическими цветами и имела своей формальной, конечной целью создание независимого, самостоятельного украинского государства. Таким образом, сепаратистские тенденции являются осью оффициальной идеологии (или фразеологии) украинской контр-революции.

Сепаратизм после разгрома укр. к.-р.

Украинская буржуазия в войне с Советской властью потерпела полное поражение.

Вместе с тем, XII с'езд РКП уточнил пути проведения в жизнь основ нашей национальной политики.

Эти два обстоятельства привели к тому, что приверженцы сепаратистских идей начали пересматривать свой идеологический багаж и менять вехи.

Главную роль в смене вех сыграли, конечно, разгром вооруженных сил укр. к.-р. и укрепление Советской власти на Украине.

Представители укр. к.-р., благодаря этому, утратили какие-бы то ни было благоприятные перспективы.

Новый национальный курс делал невозможным продолжение вооруженной борьбы с Соввластью, так как выбивал из рук шовинистов главный козырь,—„национальное угнетение".

Практически это привело к ликвидации бандитизма, к прекращению заговорщической, подпольной деятельности, к возвращению по амнистии остатков армии УНР и к расколу эмиграции, из которой выделилась и вернулась в пределы Украины чрезвычайно значительная и влиятельная часть. Отказ от борьбы сопровождался признанием Советской власти. Признание Советской власти означало отказ от принципов сепаратизма. Таким образом, на платформе независимости Украины открыто стоит только непримиримая часть украинской эмиграции.

Эта эмиграция состоит из представителей разных политических течений, от монархистов-хлеборобов (гетманцы) до „социалистов".

Все они сходятся в одном: „Украина является Московской колонией, украинская Советская власть—фикция, представители Советской власти на Украине—ставленники Московских завоевателей и т. д.". Ввиду этого они не считают возможным итти на какие-бы то ни было соглашения с этой властью.

Перемена тактики—„Культурная борьба".

То обстоятельство, что украинские националисты прекратили открытую борьбу с Советской властью и формально признали ее, не

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означает, что они окончательно примирились с теперешним положением вещей и искренно отказались от враждебных замыслов.

Здесь налицо не изменение идеологии, а перемена тактики.

Та тактика, которая обещала наиболее быстрые результаты,—тактика открытой войны,—привела украинский сепаратизм к проигрышу его борьбы. Условия коренным образом изменились.

Расчеты на свержение Соввласти не оправдались. Советская власть должна быть принята националистами, как неизбежный факт.

В виду этого выковалась новая тактика борьбы. Тактика, в которой Соввласть играет роль об'екта, против которого направлено оружие „культурной работы".

Термин „культурной работы" пришел на смену провалившемуся лозунгу вооруженной борьбы за независимость.

„Культурная борьба" приобрела огромную популярность и втянула в ряды своих сторонников подавляющее большинство виднейших представителей укр. контр-революции.

Целый ряд военных деятелей, министров, общественников, лидеров партий, отказались от старых приемов и влились в ряды бойцов „культурного фронта".

Цели и задачи „культурной" работы сводятся к укреплению и развитию националистических тенденций:

„Советская власть должна почувствовать мощь национальной стихии, под напором которой она будет сдавать одну позицию за другой"

Для этой цели используются все возможности. Украинизация использовывается для группирования во всех жизненных частях государственного организма сторонников националистических идей.

Создана Украинская Автокефальная Церковь, являющаяся могучим оплотом национализма и отличным агитационным орудием.

Украинская Академия Наук собрала вокруг себя компактную массу бывших видных деятелей УНР.

В общем, представители украинского национализма работают, не покладая рук, над внедрением в массы националистических чувств.

Они считают, что украинский народ проиграл свою освободительную борьбу из-за недостатка национальной сплоченности, и стремятся исправить этот основной недочет, т. е. добиться национальной спайки в массах.

Если период вооруженной борьбы отличался широким развитием подпольной деятельности, то эпоха „культурной борьбы" характерна стремлением использовать легальные возможности.

Об использовании легальных путей для борьбы с Соввластью см. наш циркуляр об украинской общественности от 30-го Марта 1926 года (стр. 5).

Националисты и Село.

Село привлекает исключительное внимание националистов. На сельского кулака делается главнейшая ставка. В этом сходятся все группы украинской антисоветской общественности.

Видные представители антисоветской украинской интеллигенции г. Харькова по этому поводу говорят:

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На селе власть берет кулак. В связи с предоставлением свободы выборов кустарям, середнякам и проч., к власти приходит элемент анти-коммунистический, которым партия управлять не в состоянии. Поэтому украинской интеллигенции открывается широкая возможность взять власть в свои руки.

После того, как власть на селе возьмет кулак, большая часть партийцев окончательно убедится в правоте Зиновьева и создаст оппозицию ЦК. Тогда раскол будет еще более значительный. Поэтому перед украинской интеллигенцией стоит сейчас задача стремиться захватить влияние на селе".

Один из создателей хлеборобской партии, находящийся в Харькове, говорит:

„Отрадно видеть под'ем национальных чувств среди крестьянства. У меня бывают сотни крестьян и все они, и середняки, и незаможники, и кулаки совершенно сознательны в национальном отношении. Они вполне понимают, кто их обижает и кто виновен в их плохом положении. В свое время мы ошибались и поэтому проиграли нашу борьбу, но все-же наша работа не пропала даром. Наши идеи впитались в крестьянство".

Таким образом этот деятель убежден в том, что крестьянство успешно обрабатывается в шовинистическом, самостийническом духе.

Цели этой упорной обработки крестьянства хорошо сформулированы Председателем Подольской Автокефальной Рады:

„......Основной работой автокефалии является перевоспитание села. Вся деятельность ее должна быть направлена к максимальному внедрению в крестьянскую среду национального духа. Следствием этого должно явиться то, что крестьянство поставит себе первоочередной задачей абсолютное национальное освобождение Украины из под ига Москвы".

Работа украинских шовинистов по воспитанию села в духе ненависти к Москве дает заметные результаты, особенно, в среде молодежи. Об этом свидетельствуют многие данные повседневной работы органов ГПУ.

Самостийнические идеи в настоящее время.

Шовинисты различных политических оттенков сходятся в одном — в ненависти к Москве. Эмиграция об этом говорит открыто. Эмиграция призывает к борьбе с Совластью до тех пор, пока эта власть будет оставаться „неукраинской". Украинская власть в представлении эмиграции это — такая власть, которая не имеет связи с Москвой и представители которой — чистокровные украинцы.

Антисоветский шовинистический элемент внутри страны также, при каждом удобном случае, выявляет свое враждебное отношение к Москве.

Нижеследующие примеры иллюстрируют эти настроения.

А. Украинизация.

Несмотря на то, что твердое проведение нами украинизации лишает контр-революционеров возможности пользоваться для своей

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демагогии выигрышными козырями, шовинистические элементы украинизацию, проводимую Советской властью, пытаются критиковать. Они твердят, что единственным результатом теперешней украинизации явится то, что „кацапы" и „жиды", находящиеся на государственной службе, „обдирая в интересах Москвы украинского крестьянина, будут говорить с ним на ломанном украинском языке".

По их мнению, настоящая украинизация должна сводиться к тому, что-бы весь государственный аппарат перешел в руки „щирых украинцев".

Это—ближайшая задача, к осуществлению которой стремится украинский воинствующий шовинизм.

Общее мнение правых украинских кругов по этому вопросу сводится к словам, находящагося в г. Днепро-Петровске шовинистического деятеля, который по этому поводу говорит:

> „....Украинизация даст нам куцую национальную свободу. Коммунистическая партия проводит украинизацию не потому, что находит это полезным, а потому, что вынуждена это делать".

Украинская шовинистическая пресса закордоном, в связи с проводимой *украинизацией и выдвижением на ответственную работу украинцев*, констатирует тот факт, что среди украинской общественности начинает всплывать на поверхность идея национальной государственности. По мнению прессы, это представляет „угрозу воинствующему и царящему на Украине великорусскому шовинизму, угрозу окупантам из Москвы".

Газета „Діло", наиболее серьезный орган УНДО (Украинского Национального Демократического Об'единення) пишет:

> „.....Надеяться большевикам на то, что эти мероприятия могут задушить нарождающееся национальное украинское освободительное движение, поздно. Вместе с тем, политика большевиков в области украинизации нами должна быть целиком использована, так как она дает возможность украинцам более или менее легально концентрировать свои силы и, тем самым, создавать базу для будущей борьбы за украинскую государственность".

Часть украинских шовинистов считает, что смерть тов. Дзержинского знаменует собой поворот политики коммунистической партии. Они говорят:

> „..... Еще умрет два—три старых большевика и придут к власти молодые коммунисты, отличающиеся империализмом, карьеризмом и безпринципностью. Дзержинский и другие старые большевики ориентировались на всемирную революцию и для них рамки государства не играли решающего значения. В этой области отношение к украинскому вопросу и автономии Украины у старых большевиков было терпимое, в результате чего и проводится *украинизация. Не то будет, когда к власти придут империалисты* и карьеристы.

Для украинцев это знаменует собой или полное порабощение Украины, или необходимость противопоставить этому организованный отпор украинских сил"

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Б. Индустриализация Украины.

Сепаратисты стараются доказать, что Украины является Московской колонией и в силу этого подвергается со стороны Москвы самой жестокой экономической эксплоатации.

Большие недовольства вызываются со стороны шовинистов тем, что Совласть, якобы извлекая из Украины огромные средства, уделяет из них для развития украинской промышленности самую ничтожную часть.

В представлении шовинистов, эксплоатация Украины происходит таким путем:

1. Естественные богатства Украины в Донбассе, Криворожье и т. п. разрабатываются Москвой и добыча вывозится в Россию без соответствующей компенсации Украины.

2. Фабрикаты поставляет Россия, хлеб производит Украина. Россия так регулирует цены, что свои фабрикаты продает по вздутым ценам, а украинский хлеб скупает по дешевке.

3. Украина, поставляя для экспорта массу товаров, не получает соответствующей доли импорта.

4. С Украины дерутся непомерно высокие налоги.

Националисты твердят, что Украина дает Союзу чуть ли не 40% всех доходов, а получает взамен самую ничтожную часть. Все же средства идут на развитие экономики России.

Письмо, которое мы приводим ниже, написано украинским учителем—шовинистом, своему ученику, находящемуся теперь в Красной Армии. В письме, между прочим, говорится:

„...... Возьми, хотя-бы, отчет IX-го С'езда КП(б)У и там ты *найдешь доказательства, что мы — Республика, не имеющая своего* бюджета. Выходит, что не мы распоряжаемся своими средствами, а берем то, что нам дает Москва. Теперь, возьмем, хотя-бы статьи, где пишется, что из 26-ти заводов на Украине хотят строить только два. Посмотри, где строят электрические станции, где отпускают большие кредиты, почему наши солдаты до сих пор служат на Кавказе и в Ленинграде. Словом, ты хорошо следи за экономикой, как распределяются союзные средства, где строят заводы, электрические станции и т. п., тогда ты сразу прозреешь. Читай сам и прокладывай дорогу нашей прессе, нашим газетам и книгам. Об этом ты должен всегда помнить".

В письме этом имеются также указания, как надо использовывать для агитации среди масс все эти факты.

Шовинисты, критикуя план развертывания тяжелой индустрии, говорят:

„...... Он лучший показатель того, что верхи СССР никогда не изживут великорусского шовинизма, сконцентрируют все заводы и фабрики в России, а с Украины будут выкачивать топливо и сырье".

Бывший премьер Правительства УНР настроен оптимистически и так рисует перспективу развития украинской промышленности:

„... Украина, как ни одна страна в мире, кроме Америки, отличается счастливым сочетанием энергетических рессурсов.

Поэтому, национальная промышленность Украины подымется на такую высоту, что избавится от притеснения другими частями Союза. Она, как мощный поток, отбросит более слабые струи.

Эти перспективы принуждают нас не унывать, не падать духом и продолжат свою работу. При УНР этого под'ема легко можно было добиться при помощи иностранного капитала.

Сейчас это сделать труднее, так как политическое влияние *теперь чужое, а не наше, но украинцы — самая культурная нация* в Союзе и это является залогом осуществления наших националь*ных задач*".

В. Территория и суверенность.

Часть украинских сепаратистов мечтает об украинской великодержавности.

В одном из последних номеров Центрального органа УНДО „ДІЛО", издающегося во Львове, была помещена статья, отражающая эти настроения. О том, что Украина в ее теперешних границах должна быть независимым государством, статья даже не говорит, так как это считается азбучной истиной, аксиомой, о которой „ДІЛО" в серьезной принципиальной статье не считает нужным снова упоминать. Речь в этой статье идет ни о чем ином, как об украинском империализме. Автор ее известный ундовец Левицкий доказывает, чта Украина нуждается в Сибири, Зеленом Клине, Туркестане и Кубани для колонизационных и проч. целей. В виду этого, Украина должна стремиться также и к протекторату над путями к ним.

В противном случае, утверждает „ДІЛО", Украина не сможет занять место среди великих держав, а вынуждена будет мириться с положением второстепенного государства на манер Польши и Румынии.

Что касается внутренних контр-революционных элементов, то они этим вопросам уделяют меньшее внимание, так как их задачи выражаются следующей формулой:

„...Язык, нация, культура, территория, суверенность".

Таким образом, территория и суверенность относятся к задачам более отдаленного будущего, а в настоящее время, главная борьба ве*дется за язык, нацию, культуру и самостоятельную экономику.*

Все-же, шовинистический элемент проявляет большую заинтересованность вопросами государственной суверенности Украины.

Так например, арестованный вожак Харьковских правых кругов так формулирует на допросе свою позицию, являющуюся программой правых:

„...Как националист считаю, что факт лишения Украины международного представительства является актом недостойным украинской нации. Отсутствие правильно организованной украинской армии, не дает уверенности в продолжительном существовании Советской украинской власти. Колониальные последствия дореволюционного положения Украины не ликвидируются, а попытки

проведения справедливой экономической политики, встречают такой отпор, что существует большое опасение, что ликвидация этого положения может не начаться. Национальным правительством я считаю то правительство, которое стремится возвратить Украине национально-суверенное государственное бытие. Национальное государственное бытие заключается в том, что государство вполне самостоятельно ведет внешнюю и внутреннюю политику".

В настоящее время мечты о немедленном выходе из Союза расценивается большинством шовинистов, как несвоевременные.

Основная надежда возлагается на возникновение войны, которая *принесет большевикам поражение, а Украине—независимость.* Впрочем, имеются отдельные группы, которые говорят:

„...Лучше быть под Польшей, чем под жидами".

Правда, голоса этих групп тонут в общей неприязни к Польше. Часть шовинистического элемента расценивает Польшу, как фактор, при помощи которого Украина добьется самостоятельности, без об'единения с Польским государством.

В представлении самостийников, Украина будет обширным государством, „от реки Сана до Кубани". Пока-же шовинисты болезненно реагируют на все мероприятия Советской власти, которые по их представлениям наносят вред интересам суверенности Украины. Так например, большое возбуждение вызвала передача РСФСР Таганрогского и Шахтинского округов. Усиленно муссируются слухи о том, что Донбасс с Харьковом Москва в непродолжительном времени так-же собирается отнять от Украины.

Интересным образцом самостийнических стремлений является дело Кубанских студентов Павленко, Бурбы и др., разрабатывавшееся ГПУ УССР и ППОГПУ по СКК.

Из статута, обнаруженного при обыске у одного участников организации, проживавшего в Киеве, явствует, что организация ставила своей целью об'единение крестьян Украины, Кубани, Крыма, Западного Дона, Южной части Курской и Воронежской губерний в одну мощную организацию („Украинское крестьянское об'единение").

Дополнительные материалы говорят о том, что конечной целью работы должна была явиться „вольная, независимая, самостоятельная, соборная Украина" в указанных выше пределах

Г. Сепаристские настроения в литературе.

Известный украинский литератор Могилянский в одном из номеров Харьковского журнала „Червоний Шлях" поместил небольшой рассказ под заглавием „Убийство".

В нем повествуется о том, как три националистических деятеля убили своего вождя за измену национальному делу.

Рассказ написан своеобразным эзоповским языком, но если в него вдуматься, то становится ясным, что этим вождем изменником, казненным в рассказе за предательство, является никто иной, как профессор Грушевский.

Могилянский направил этот рассказ-памфлет против Грушевского за то, что Грушевский, бывший долгое время самостийником, осмелился признать Советскую власть и федеративные начала вхождения Украины в Союз, т. е. изменил национальному делу.

Могилянский в рассказе проводит мысль о том, что такое преступление вождя должно караться смертью.

Это хороший образец того, как шовинисты пытаются использовать литературу в своих целях.

Они придают большое значение талантливым писателям и всеми силами стараются оказывать на них свое влияние.

Большое внимание уделяют шовинистические круги, между прочим, поэту Хвильовому, несмотря на то, что он является членом КП(б)У. Шовинистическая закордонная пресса иногда перепечатывает из наших журналов отдельные его произведения и пытается оказать на него националистическое воздействие.

Внутренние шовинистические круги так-же заинтересованы молодыми литераторами, в том числе и коммунистами.

По этому поводу, один из авторитетных представителей Харьковской правой общественности высказал такую мысль:

„Хвыльового мы можем поддерживать. На украинских коммунистов мы должны оказывать наше влияние и проводить нашу работу так, что-бы они не отходили от нас, а вместе с нами боролись за украинизацию, за Украину".

Убийство Петлюры.

Убийство Петлюры явилось фактором, который украинские шовинисты сделали орудием агитации, в целях развития украинского шовинизма и направления его по руслу борьбы „с Московскими окупантами".

В „Коммуникате", посвященном убийству Петлюры, за подписью 53-х эмигрантских украинских организаций, говорится:

„.....Мы уверены в том, что украинская общественность, а в первую голову украинская эмиграция в этот наиболее тяжелый час национальной печали, поймет ту опасность, которая угрожает нашему национальному делу от гибельного удушения государственных стремлений украинского народа его вечным врагом, а поняв это с еще большей энергией будет защищать те национальные позиции, на которых так непоколебимо, честно и с честью стоял и пал Симон Петлюра.

Железной для нас является обязанность перед могилой великого патриота и неутомимого борца, несмотря ни на какие жертвы, осуществить идею украинской государственности.

Убийство Председателя Директории Украинской Народной Республики—главного атамана войск Украины, направлено против всего украинского народа. Враги украинского народа, окупанты его страны, насильники его воли, а не мститель еврейского народа Украины, направили руку убийцы на Симона Петлюру.

Тем больше должны мы единым напряжением всех наших национальных сил доказать, что враг Симона Петлюры—наши враги".

В воззвании ЦК УСДРП к украинским рабочим и крестьянам говорится:

„....Русские коммунисты, царствующие при помощи железа и крови над украинским народом, подослали нанятого палача-жида Шварцбарта. Руками своего наемника убили Петлюру враги Украины, которые уже давно хотели стереть с лица земли этого наиболее активного борца за освобождение украинского народа....

Народные массы Украины ненавидят окупационную власть московских коммунистов. Рабочие и крестьяне Украины должны об'единиться одной мыслью, одним горячим стремлением: общими силами освободиться из под власти коммунистических жандармов и провокаторов, этих ненасытных пьявок, которые пьют кровь нашего народа. Не легка будет эта борьба Украины за свою свободу. Для успешной борьбы нужна большая и сильная политическая организация".

Общее мнение украинских правых кругов сводится к следующему:

„....Петлюра убит большевиками в связи с тем, что к власти пришел Пилсудский—друг Петлюры. Пилсудский безусловно оказал бы Петлюре большую помощь в деле борьбы с большевиками, а потому „они" решили Петлюру убрать, подослав жида Шварцбарта. Петлюра пользуется на Украине большим авторитетом и его убийство приведет к освободительной борьбе украинской нации".

Вместе с тем они считают, что имя Петлюры пользуется большим авторитетом на селе, и факт убийства Петлюры должен всколыхнуть массы крестьянской общественности, каковой момент и считают необходимым использовать для своих антисоветских целей.

В связи с убийством Петлюры среди разрозненных антисоветских украинских партий и группировок за кордоном была заметна тенденция к консолидации сил. Об этом в достаточной мере говорят факты: Павел Скоропадский едет на панихиду по своему непримиримому врагу Петлюре. Партия хлеборобов, стоявшая до последних дней в непримиримой оппозиции Петлюре, посылает делегацию на похороны и возлагает венок на могилу Петлюры. Почти вся зарубежная шовинистическая украинская пресса представляющая собою отражение той или иной платформы, резко отличающихся друг от друга, со времени смерти Петлюры, помещает статьи о необходимости единодушной борьбы против оккупантов всех националистических украинских группировок за кордоном. Кампания за об'единение антисоветских украинских сил развертывается все шире и шире.

Однако сейчас можно с полной уверенностью определить, что единого антисоветского фронта эмиграция создать не в состоянии.

Выяснилось, что „единый фронт" об'единяет только те группы, которые стоят на УНР'овской платформе.

Те же группы, которые не признавали этой платформы, ограничились признанием заслуг Петлюры и присоединились к протесту по поводу его убийства.

Шаповаловские круги с УНР'овцами не договорились. Полтавец-Остраница провозгласил себя гетманом.

Влиятельная и денежная организация „Оборона України", находящаяся в Америке, заняла в отношении петлюровцев отрицательную позицию и ее печатный орган „Укр. Громада" резко протестует против перехода политического наследства в руки Андр. Левицкого и К°.

Укр. Соц. Рад. партия находится в зависимости от „Обороны Украины" и также выступает против Андр. Левицкого. УНДО находится в колебании, так как враждует с Левицким, который заключал договоры с Польшей.

В общем эмиграция находится в полной зависимости от своих хозяев, дающих субсидии. Такими источниками субсидий являются Польша, Чехословакия и Германия, которые использовывают эмиграцию в своих политических целях. Так как политические интересы этих государств сталкиваются, то естественно, что они не позволяют своим нахлебникам договориться до единой линии поведения.

Газета „Діло", между прочим, поместила две статьи Винниченко, в которых он критикует идею единого фронта, указывая, что единство может быть создано на почве общих политических целей и условий, но никак не на почве психологических настроений, вызванных смертью Петлюры.

Однако—если единый антисоветский фронт можно считать сорвавшимся, то с другой стороны нужно учесть, что убийство Петлюры вызвало безусловный рост активности враждебных нам групп, которые будут стремиться причинить Советской власти как можно больше вреда.

Организационные выводы.

Все изложенное еще раз говорит о том, что на работу по украинской общественности необходимо обратить самое серьезное внимание. Конкретные задачи, стоящие перед органами ГПУ, мы указывали в циркуляре „Об украинской общественности" от 30/III с. г.

В числе прочих заданий этим циркуляром рекомендовалось:

1. Главное внимание уделить выявлению правых групп, их деятельности и взаимоотношениям с остальными кругами украинской общественности (циркуляр, раздел „конкретные мероприятия" пункт 2");

2. Не ограничиваться простым наблюдением за всеми кругами украинской общественности, а вести активную разведку среди видных представителей украинских антисоветских течений (пункт 5);

3. Увязать работу по украинской интеллигенции с работой по селу (пункт 6);

4. Освещать текущие настроения украинской общественности, связанные с нашей внутренней и международной политической жизнью (пункт 7).

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Все отмеченные в предыдущем циркуляре мероприятия остаются полностью в силе и для настоящего циркулярного письма.

Серьезность и сложность современной политической обстановки и связанная с нею активность враждебных нам социальных и политических слоев, требуют самого внимательного отношения к процессам, протекающим в мелко-буржуазных националистических кругах.

Эта задача в свою очередь требует быстрейшего развития нашей работы по тем конкретным директивам, которые содержатся в циркуляре „Об украинской общественности".

Зам. Пред. ГПУ УССР **Карлсон.**

Пом. Нач. СО ГПУ УССР **Абугов.**

Врид. Нач. 1-го Отделения СО **Козельский.**

New Documentary Information about Maksym Bernats'kyi, A Leader of the Ukrainian Underground in Eastern Ukraine during World War II

VOLODYMYR SEMYSTYAHA

Soviet historiography denied the existence of a national-liberation and cultural and educational movement in eastern Ukraine during World War II. Only the Communist Party was recognized as a guiding and organizing force, and antifascist resistance was ascribed solely to leftist forces. In their memoirs and scholarly works participants in these events, diaspora historians, and students of local lore have shown the absurdity of these claims.[1]

Unfortunately, a lack of archival sources has made these authors' studies general, imprecise, and occasionally not particularly objective. Documentary material about the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) during World War II has appeared in the *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, but it almost completely ignores eastern Ukraine. Hence, introducing documents from the former People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs/State Committee on Security (NKVD-KGB) that have hitherto been inaccessible to researchers, the present author has tried to supplement them and to establish the facts about the tragic fate of Maksym Bernats'kyi. The documents show that in addition to the Communist underground, an underground guided by the radical branch of the OUN was active against the occupiers in the German-occupied Luhans'k Oblast' in 1942–1943. The organizer of that movement in Luhans'k (at that time Voroshylovhrad) was Ievhen Stakhiv. The city and oblast' directorates of the movement were headed by Professor Bernats'kyi, head of the department of Ukrainian at the local teachers' college.

Who was Maksym Ivanovych Bernats'kyi? What do we know about him? The information about him comes in this case from security service archives. The documents show that after the return of the Red Army to Voroshylovhrad a union-wide search for Bernats'kyi was launched. Through its network of agents Lavrentii Beria's department was well-informed about his activities in German-occupied Ukraine. He was discovered in Odesa Oblast', where he was working as a precentor in Bohopillia, a suburb of Pervomais'k, and was arrested, under Article 54, paragraph 1a, part 2, of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code, during the night of 7 August 1944. The order for his detention and arrest, which was signed on 2 August 1944 by Iliasov, the chief of the NKVD for Voroshylovhrad Oblast', and a certain Popov, the deputy military procurator, states that "during the first days of the occupation of Voroshylovhrad by the Germans M. I. Bernats'kyi became editor-in-chief of the fascist newspaper

Harvard Ukrainian Studies 18(3/4) December 1994: 303–326.

Nove zhyttia, which was published by the propaganda department of the German command, personally shaped the newspaper in a fascist and Ukrainian nationalist spirit, and is the author of a number of anti-Soviet articles in the said newspaper."[2] Bernats'kyi's questionnaire added: "a Ukrainian nationalist by conviction."[3]

The documents from the investigation and trial reveal that Bernats'kyi was born in 1889 in a poor peasant family in Bilohorodka in Kyiv Oblast'. He was not a Party member. He obtained his higher education at the teachers' college in Vinnytsia. While studying there in 1909–1915, he read a great deal of history and literature, took an interest in the origins of his native language, protested the destruction of Ukrainian national distinctiveness by the tsarist regime, raised the question of national-cultural autonomy for the Ukrainian people, and frequently talked with his friends about Ukraine's fate, its statehood, language, culture, and mentality. Bernats'kyi did not see action in battle during World War I. Drafted in 1915, he served as an ensign in Simferopol. In 1917 he joined other Ukrainian soldiers in transferring to a special national battalion. When teachers were demobilized from the army in August of that year, he left for Kyiv and entered the third year of university. His thorough training allowed him to obtain a university degree in philology ahead of schedule.

In the autumn of 1917 national armed forces for Ukraine were being established in Kyiv. Without breaking off his studies, Bernats'kyi joined the Sahaidachnyi Regiment for patriotic reasons. When the Russian Bolsheviks began their military intervention, he defended the capital against Muraviov's forces. When the Ukrainian forces were defeated, he was evacuated along with the government of the Central Rada. For a time he lived with his parents in the Kyiv region and then in 1918–1922 worked in Bilotserkivka in the Poltava region, teaching Ukrainian language and literature at the local school and conducting the local Prosvita choir. He organized performances by the choir in theaters, directed plays, musicals, and performances based on the writings of the Ukrainian classics, and popularized Ukrainian song and literature. In 1922 he was elected to the village council. At this time he quit the Prosvita society and became involved in scholarly work. Later he taught a course on Ukrainian language and literature at the Cherkasy teachers' college. He published scholarly writings.

Bernats'kyi's activities did not escape the attention of the totalitarian regime's punitive agencies. In October 1930 he was arrested by the Cherkasy city department of the GPU and accused of nationalist activities and connections with former officers. He spent eight days under arrest, but was released without trial for lack of evidence.[4] The oppressive atmosphere of special supervision and persecution of everything Ukrainian forced him to consider what to do. After the death of his wife in 1935 Bernats'kyi moved to Voroshylovhrad in the Donbas. Here he taught Ukrainian and literary methodology at the pedagogical community college [*pedahohichnyi tekhnikum*] and then became a senior lecturer in the Ukrainian department at the pedagogical

university [*pedahohichnyi instytut*]. Work became increasingly difficult because the atmosphere of violence and campaigns against dissidents was also present in Voroshylovhrad. Bernats'kyi was placed under surveillance by the NKVD. In 1938 he was involved in the fabricated case known as "Hnyllia." His books and articles, however, were not confiscated or removed from circulation. He continued to write and publish a great deal. In 1939 on the basis of his scholarly works and without having defended a dissertation he was appointed professor at the Voroshylovhrad teachers' college, where he headed the Ukrainian department. His textbooks and manuals were widely recognized and were published in unusually large editions of several hundred thousand copies on the recommendation of the Academy of Sciences and the Commissariat of Education.[5]

The German-Soviet war proved to be tragic for Bernats'kyi. In October 1941 he was evacuated to Tashkent, where he worked until March 1942 at a completely superfluous job as a tally clerk with meager wages. As soon as the front line stabilized, he returned to Voroshylovhrad. In the summer of 1942 the Germans broke through the front line, and a second evacuation began. This time Bernats'kyi, who was now ill, did not manage to leave.

In early August 1942 Ievhen Stakhiv, an organizer of the OUN underground in the Donbas and an emissary of the Dnipropetrovs'k directorate of the Bandera faction of the OUN (OUN-B), contacted with Bernats'kyi. Well-informed about his Ukrainian patriotism, "Ievhen" told him about the national-liberation struggle in western Ukraine, the split in the OUN, the attempt by the radical faction of the OUN to set up a national government in Lviv, and the Nazi reprisals against the patriots. He did not conceal the fact that he supported Stepan Bandera. "Ievhen" also stressed that for tactical reasons the OUN, and especially the Mel'nyk faction, was working with the Germans. But, while availing itself of legal methods, the OUN was also fighting the Nazis, just as it had fought the Bolsheviks, to establish Ukrainian independence. "Ievhen" introduced Bernats'kyi to OUN publications, documents, and leaflets that were published in L'viv and Cracow and that stressed the importance of fighting on two fronts against both the Hitler and Stalin regimes.[6]

"Ievhen" paid particular attention to the opportunities provided by the legal press, since in wartime conditions it was the legal press that had to circumvent German censorship and reflect Ukrainian interests and educate patriots of an independent Ukraine. He stressed that it was the duty of every member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to fight for his people and their independence. He offered Bernats'kyi the editorship of a Ukrainian-language newspaper that would propagate the ideas of the national-liberation movement and unite Ukrainians in the struggle for an independent Ukraine. Bernats'kyi thus joined the OUN-B and agreed to become editor-in-chief of the regional Ukrainian-language newspaper *Nove zhyttia*.[7]

Within a brief period Bernats'kyi assembled a staff of thirty persons and arranged for the newspaper to be published three times a week. It appeared

from 18 August 1942 until 31 January 1943 with a circulation of between three and twenty thousand copies—sometimes reaching even forty thousand copies.[8]

Until mid-October 1942 Bernats'kyi, acting in complete conspiracy, selected new members of the underground organization from both local residents and Ukrainians who were serving in the German army and involved them in the newspaper. Among them were Orest Horodys'kyi, a student at L'viv University and a translator for a German army unit, and Vasyl' Iakubovych, a student at Chernivtsi University and a translator for the propaganda department of the city government. City and oblast' directorates of the OUN-B, which consisted of four persons, were also set up. In addition to Bernats'kyi they included Oleksandr Vasylenko, Pavlo Danyleichenko, and Volodymyr Maksymovych. The editorial office became the headquarters of the underground movement. It distributed special literature, leaflets, OUN bulletins, and Ukrainian newspapers from L'viv, Cracow, Stanyslav [Ivano-Frankivs'k], and Berlin.[9]

Despite the restrictions of the German censorship, *Nove zhyttia* published articles on timely topics in Ukrainian history and regional lore and reported on the negative consequences of Russification. Bernats'kyi himself wrote and published a number of anti-Bolshevik pieces, some of which are still timely. They include "Slova i spravy bil'shovyts'ski," "Zahybel' bil'shovyzmu nemynucha," "Pivroku bez sovitiv," "Orfohrafichni pytannia," "Pidhotovka vykladachiv ukraïns'koï movy," "Ukraïns'ka mova—derzhavna," "Metodychne kerivnytstvo shkil'noiu storinkoiu," "Bil'shovyzm i zavdannia ukraïns'koï presy," and "Kozhnomu robochomu selianynu—svoia zemlia."[10]

The underground became active in mid-October 1942. It was assisted by the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast' directorate of the OUN-B. At that time "Lemish" (Vasyl' Kuk) sent Mytrofan Ivanov ("Ivan," "Ivan Metrofanovych," or "Ivan Petrovych") and Fedir Lichman ("Teodor," "Teofil," or "Arkadii") from Dnipropetrovs'k to work with Bernats'kyi. A month later they were joined by Kateryna Meshko-Khudenko ("Oksana," "Mariia," "Oksana Petrivna"). The couriers brought literature and leaflets and conveyed instructions to avoid the spreading German repressions against the OUN by intensifying the conspiratorial system and to use every opportunity to influence the Ukrainian population, especially young people and teachers.[11]

Bernats'kyi took care of the couriers' problems with the city police, arranged safe living quarters and legal jobs for them, and drew up the documents they needed to avoid persecution from the occupier's punitive and intelligence agencies while moving about the region and distributing literature and leaflets, carrying out agitation, and recruiting new members for the organization. With the help of his many acquaintances in the region, Bernats'kyi set up work in Alchevs'k and Bilovods'k and in the Bilokurakyne, Lozno-Oleksandrivka, Novosvitlivka, Oleksandrivka, Popasna, and Starobils'k raions. He even managed to get Ivanov a job as an officer in the Verhunka police and to start working with the police in Voroshylovhrad.[12]

Concerned about culture and education, the Voroshylovhrad city and oblast' directorate of the OUN set up regional courses for teachers of Ukrainian language and literature that were attended by one hundred-fifty young men and women. Bernats'kyi was not only in charge of these courses, but from 15 November 1942 until 5 February 1943 personally taught the theoretical Ukrainian course. He got the best teachers in the city to teach the courses. The core came from the staff of the teachers' college. Later some of them, particularly M. F. Nakonechnyi and Stefan Samiilenko, gained recognition throughout the Slavic world. Naturally, the organizers of the course were not only teaching the native language and literature, but were also propagating a free and independent Ukraine and citing specific cases to demonstrate the catastrophic consequences of Ukraine's Russification by the Soviet government. In addition, they were educating a new type of teacher, one who could Ukrainianize the Russified Donbas. Bernats'kyi himself worked on a new orthography and prepared for publication a manual on Ukrainian orthography and grammar for schools and institutes of higher education. The city's Prosvita society was reborn. Bernats'kyi drew up its statutes. They were ratified at an organizational meeting of the initiative group and registered with the city government, after which the newspaper announced that new members were being accepted. The group spread its influence to the Ukrainian theater, choir, and bandurist choir.

There is no doubt that the editors of *Nove zhyttia* carried out the orders of the occupying authorities: they published propaganda reports about German military actions and orders from the occupying authorities and punitive agencies. But the editors themselves had no direct connection with the intelligence agencies or other offices of the German Reich. Bernats'kyi, whatever newspaper he was working at, always had one specific goal: writing and publishing nationalistic articles and essays. On his own initiative, while working in Ienakiievo, he published a weekly Ukrainian page in the local Russian-language newspaper.

During the preliminary NKVD investigation, which was conducted in Voroshylovhrad, Bernats'kyi withstood pressure from the investigators and did not slander or incriminate anyone, and at a session of the military tribunal of the Voroshylovhrad Oblast' NKVD forces he refuted an accusation by S. M. Osadchyi.[13] He asked the tribunal not to punish him or his colleagues severely. Naturally, under the totalitarian Stalinist regime any national idea, and not just a Ukrainian one, was an unheard-of crime, deserving only the utmost punishment. That is why of the twenty-six persons who were involved in Bernats'kyi's case nineteen were apprehended and severely punished before the war ended. Those who refused to deliver themselves to Soviet justice committed suicide, as did Danyleichenko, a member of the OUN directorate.[14]

The closed session of the NKVD military tribunal took place in Voroshylovhrad on 2 March 1945. Neither the prosecution nor the defense was present. The military tribunal heard out Bernats'kyi and reached its verdict within thirty minutes. He was found guilty, under Article 54, paragraphs 1a and

11, of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, of being a convinced Ukrainian nationalist since before the Revolution, of serving in the army of the Ukrainian Central Rada, of belonging to the counterrevolutionary nationalist Prosvita society, and of promulgating a platform of "a single independent state."

The military tribunal went on to say in its verdict that Bernats'kyi was recruited by the underground OUN and himself recruited members for it and that he slandered the Soviet government and praised fascism and Ukrainian nationalist activities. He also assisted the nationalists, found living quarters for them, supplied them with documents, and organized a Prosvita society and Ukrainian-language courses attended by up to one hundred-fifty persons. As the director of the courses, he slandered the Communist education of young people under the Soviet government. He escaped to the rear of the German army and worked for fascist newspapers in Ienakiievo, Dnipropetrovs'k, Kryvyi Rih, and Pervomais'k in Odesa Oblast'. During all this time he kept in touch with a group of OUN members.[15]

On this basis the military tribunal sentenced Bernats'kyi to the strongest possible measure of punishment—execution and confiscation of all property and valuables seized during the search.[16]

The tribunal's verdict said nothing about the city or oblast' directorate of the OUN-B, but wartime and postwar NKVD documents and the case files of the underground members indicate that there were two centers in occupied Voroshylovhrad. One was established and headed by Bernats'kyi, the other by Kateryna Meshko-Khudenko, who had been sent by the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast' directorate. Maintaining contact with each other, they fought for their common cause—an independent Ukraine.

On 14 April 1945, a telegram coded "Urgent" and "Top Secret" and personally signed by Colonel-General of Justice Vasilii Ul'rikh, Chief of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, was dispatched to Voroshylovhrad. Ul'rikh reported that the verdict delivered to Bernats'kyi by the Voroshylovhrad Oblast' NKVD military tribunal had been ratified at all higher instances and demanded that the adult members of the traitor's family be located and subjected to repression. At the same time he ordered the chief of the Voroshylovhrad oblast' NKVD military tribunal to carry out the verdict immediately.[17]

These instructions were obeyed. Bernats'kyi was executed in Voroshylovhrad on 30 April 1945. His family was subjected to repression even before his death. This is apparent from the stamp placed on the verdict form issued by the Voroshylovhrad Oblast' NKVD military tribunal: "Measures to subject family members to repression in accordance with USSR NKVD and USSR Procurator's Office directives No. 21515 dated 30 May and 252 dated 27 June 1942 have been TAKEN."[18] These actions were carried out on the basis of an order by Medvedev, chief of the Third Department of the Ukrainian SSR NKVD, dated 23 February 1943.

The archival documents reveal that Bernats'kyi's wife Evgeniia Petrovna (they were married just before the war) and daughter Alla were arrested in Voroshylovhrad on 2 March 1943 without sanction from a procurator or an arrest warrant as persons who enjoyed great confidence and authority with the German authorities.[19]

By origin a Russian from the Voronezh region, Evgeniia Bernats'kyi knew Ukrainian extremely well and used it in daily life.[20] She was familiar with her husband's affairs and helped him in many matters. She did not give evidence against anyone during her interrogation. She died suddenly on 17 March 1943 at the Voroshylovhrad Oblast' NKVD prison, to which effect appropriate documents were drawn up.[21] It was not until 20 April 1995 that she was rehabilitated by the Luhans'k Oblast' Procurator's Office on the basis of the Ukrainian SSR law of 17 April 1991, "On the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions in Ukraine."[22]

On the eve of the German occupation Bernats'kyi's daughter Alla was a fourth-year student in the literature department at the local teachers' college. She worked with her father in the editorial office of *Nove zhyttia*, the newspaper that he set up. She first worked in circulation and then became a literary staffer.

She was taken from Voroshylovhrad to Prison No. 1 in Saratov, and then to Engels, where she was interrogated. On 26 May 1943, after a medical examination, she was found to be fit for work of average difficulty.[23] On 28 May she was charged, under Article 54, paragraph 10, part 2, of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code, with assisting the Germans in carrying out fascist propaganda.[24]

When her investigation was completed on 14 June 1943, in accordance with a USSR NKVD and NKGB directive dated 21 April 1943, her case was handed over for consideration by a special conference of the NKVD with a proposal to punish her with five years' imprisonment.[25] But the violations of the law during the investigation were so obvious that on 7 September 1943 the USSR Procurator's Office prepared a new charge under Article 54, paragraph 3, of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code, although with the same term of imprisonment.[26] On this basis the special conference of the NKVD sentenced Alla Bernats'kyi on 25 September 1943 to five years' imprisonment in the NKVD's Gulag system. She served her sentence in a camp in the NKVD's Karlag. On 4 November 1991 the Luhans'k Oblast' Procurator's Office rehabilitated her as a victim of political terror in Ukraine "in view of the absence of evidence that would confirm the validity of her prosecution."[27] What happened to her afterwards has not been determined.

As for Mykhailo Bernats'kyi, the Luhans'k Oblast' Procurator's Office, which reviewed only his criminal file and restated the charges brought against him by the Voroshylovhrad Oblast' NKVD military tribunal on 2 March 1943, declined to rehabilitate him. On this basis, on 19 December 1991, the presidium of the Luhans'k Oblast' court incriminated Bernats'kyi with propaganda

of fascism, which the facts do not support, and on the basis of the Ukrainian SSR law of 17 April 1991, "On the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions in Ukraine," found him to have been legally convicted and not subject to rehabilitation.

Luhans'k, Ukraine

Translated from the Ukrainian by Marco Carynnyk

NOTES

1. Ievhen Stakhiv, "Bil'shovyts'ke pidpillia na Donbasi v 1941–1943 rr. v svitli sovietskoï literatury," *Ukraïns'kyi samostiinyk* 1956 (22); idem., "Natsional'no-politychne zhyttia Donbasu v 1941–1943 rr.," *Suchasna Ukraïna* 1956 (16–19); idem., "Borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu na skhidnykh zemliakh," *Visnyk* 1987 (5); idem., *Kriz' tiurmy, pidpillia i kordony: Povist' moho zhyttia* (Kyiv, 1995), pp. 103–66, 263–66; Volodymyr Kosyk, *Ukraïna i Nimechchyna u druhii svitovii viini* (Paris-New York-Lviv, 1993), pp. 106–433; L. Iaruts'kyi, *Kal'nius'ka palanka* (Mariupol, 1995), pp. 159–81.
2. Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine for the Luhans'k Oblast', sprava 5204, arkush 3. See transcriptions of archival material that follow these notes.
3. Ibid., arkush 5.
4. Ibid., arkush 22, 141^{v}, 223, 234^{v}, 236^{v}.
5. M. I. Bernats'kyi, *Hramatyka ukraïns'koï movy: Pidruchnyk dlia nepovnoï seredn'oï i seredn'oï shkoly z rosiis'koiu movoiu navchannia.* 2nd ed. (Kyiv, 1939). *Metodyka orfohrafiï v serednii shkoli: Posibnyk dlia vchyteliv seredn'oï shkoly ta studentiv pedahohichnykh instytutiv.* Part 1 (Kyiv, 1940). *Metodyka orfohrafiï v serednii shkoli: Posibnyk dlia vchyteliv seredn'oï shkoly ta studentiv pedahohichnykh instytutiv.* Part 2 (Kyiv, 1941).
6. Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine for the Luhans'k Oblast', sprava 5204, arkushi 24–25.
7. Ibid., arkush 25.
8. Ibid., arkush 125.
9. Ibid., arkushi 39, 57, 82–83, 112.
10. Ibid., arkush 126^{v}.
11. Ibid., arkushi 224, 242. Sprava 22907-r, arkushi 233–34.
12. Ibid., arkushi 51–53, 104v.
13. Ibid., sprava 5204, arkush 237; sprava 22907-r, arkush 49.
14. Ibid., sprava 19357-r, arkushi 13–14
15. Ibid., sprava 5204, arkushi 240–43.
16. Ibid., arkush 243^{v}.
17. Ibid., arkush 246.
18. Ibid., arkush 244.
19. Ibid., sprava 2972-r, arkushi 1–3; sprava 21792-r, arkushi 1–3.

20. Stakhiv, *Kriz' tiurmy, pidpillia i kordony,* p. 123.
21. Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine for the Luhans'k oblast', sprava 2672-4, arkushi 9–10.
22. Ibid., arkush 12.
23. Ibid., sprava 27792-r, arkush 35.
24. Ibid., arkushi 22, 23.
25. Ibid., arkush 36–36^{v}.
26. Ibid., arkush 38.
27. Ibid., arkush 43.

ADDENDA

Transcriptions of Archival Documents Pertaining to the Bernats'kyj Case

Док. N 1

ВИТЯГ З ПРОТОКОЛУ ДОПИТУ БУРГОМІСТРА ВОРОШИЛОВГРАДА О. П. ЗУБОВСЬКОГО ПРО СТВОРЕННЯ ТОВАРИСТВА "ПРОСВІТА" В ОБЛАСНОМУ ЦЕНТРІ

19 липня 1944 р.

ВОПРОС: Что Вам известно о создании в Ворошиловграде общества "Просвита"?

ОТВЕТ : В августе 1942 г. в городскую управу прибыл представитель какой-то газеты из западных областей, одетый в форму немецкого солдата. В Ворошиловграде жил дней 10, а затем выехал. За время пребывания в городе он собрал ответственных работников городской управы, включая начальников отделов, и провел совещание.

Присутствовали Азаров /бывший/ бургомистр, Гречко М. С., Гречко-Юрский Г. С., Евсюков К. И., Ковалев В. М., Бернацкий М. И. и другие.

На собрании этот представитель заявил, что надо организовать "Просвиту". И здесь же дал историческую справку по этому вопросу, а затем сказал, что "Просвита" должна заниматься вопросами подбора националистических кадров, и что на руководящих постах могут работать только члены "Просвиты", а членом "Просвиты" должен быть украинский националист. Цели и задачи общества "Просвита" продолжал представитель, должны сводиться к тому, чтобы делать Украину самостоятельным государством.

После выступления-речи этого представителя выступили Гречко-Юрский, Бернацкий, Ковалев и Гречко. Они были всецело согласны с предложением представителя в вопросе организации общества "Просвиты" и выражали свое желание принять активное участие в этом вопросе.

БЕРНАЦКИЙ свое выступление построил иначе. Он принципиально не возражал в вопросе организации "Просвиты", но вместе с тем он был несогласен с представителем по вопросу о том, кто должен быть членом общества. БЕРНАЦКИЙ говорил, что необязательно, чтобы в "Просвиту" принимались лишь украинцы. Мы можем и должны вовлекать и другие национальности, так как если мы будем только принимать в "Просвиту" украинцев, то наше общество будет незначительное и на основе этого мы не сможем широко развернуть свою работу . . .

Архів Управління СБУ по Луганській обл.—Спр. 21091р., арк. 44–44 зв. Оригінал.

Док. N 2

ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПИТУ М. І. БЕРНАЦЬКОГО НАЧАЛЬНИКОМ ТРЕТЬОГО ВІДДІЛЕННЯ ДРУГОГО ВІДДІЛУ УПРАВЛІННЯ НКДБ ПО ВОРОШИЛОВГРАДСЬКІЙ ОБЛАСТІ С. КОГАНОМ

21 жовтня 1944 р.

ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПРОСА
ОБВИНЯЕМОГО БЕРНАЦКОГО МАКСИМА ИВАНОВИЧА

21 октября 1944 г.

ВОПРОС: На предыдущих допросах Вы показали, что являлись руководителем ОУНовского подполья в Ворошиловграде. Изложите схему руководящих органов подполья.

ОТВЕТ: После того, как мной были привлечены в ОУН ряд лиц и определилась задача развивать работу организации, руководить ею—было создано руководящее ядро—Областной привод ОУН, состоящий из четырех человек. О необходимости создания "Провода" я знал из получавшихся мной бюллетеней ОУН.

ВОПРОС: Кто входил в областной "Провод" ОУН?

ОТВЕТ: Членами "Провода" ОУН являлись: я—Бернацкий Максим Иванович—редактор газеты, Василенко Александр, Данилейченко Павел и Максимович Владимир—сотрудники редакции.

ВОПРОС: По какому принципу были подобраны указанные лица в руководство ОУНовским подпольем в Ворошиловграде?

ОТВЕТ: Я руководствовался указаниями вербовавшего меня в ОУН "Евгена", который обращал мое внимание на вовлечение в организацию людей националистически настроенных, антисоветчиков, которых следует воспитывать в националистическом духе и заниматься воспитанием кадров националистов, которые в свою очередь должны проводить активную работу в таком же направлении.

Эти указания были мной выполнены и в числе ответственных работников созданной мной же редакции фашистской газеты были также явно выраженные антисоветчики—немецко-украинские националисты как Василенко, Данилейченко, Максимович. Все они проявили себя на работе в редакции . . .

ВОПРОС: К какому времени относится создание областного провода ОУН?

ОТВЕТ: Примерно к октябрю 1942 года.

ВОПРОС: Как были распределены функции между членами "Провода" ОУН?

ОТВЕТ: Василенко А. обеспечивал участок работы по селу и сельскохозяйственным учреждениям в городе.

Данилейченко охватывал культурно-просветительные учреждения/ театры, хоровую капеллу, капеллу бандуристов, школы/.

Максимович тщательно изучал получавшуюся мной националистическую литературу, знал установки ОУН из бюллетеней и на основе этого изучал посетителей редакции, приезжавших из села. Должен был подбирать из них самых надежных для националистического движения с тем, чтобы в их лице приобретать кадры организаторов подполья.

Я—Бернацкий, руководил ими и также обрабатывал людей, прибывающих из переферии.

Направлял работу прибывших ко мне курьеров от ОУН /Иванова, Личмана, "Оксаны"/.

Практически—Василенко выезжал в Попаснянский и Старобельский районы, Данилейченко систематически связывался с работниками театров и школ, принимал меры к насыщению репертуаров и программ националистическим содержанием.

ВОПРОС: Излагая схему руководства ОУН по Ворошиловградской области, вы указали только областной провод, а как осуществлялось руководство переферией?

ОТВЕТ: Возможно существовали и в районах области отдельные виды руководства ОУН, но я лично участия в их создании не принимал.

Должен только указать, что предпосылки к этому были. Так, например, беседуя с приезжавшим в редакцию из Ворошиловска Осауленко, я обращал внимание на необходимость проведения организационной работы по сплочению националистических кадров. После его посещал ОУНовский курьер Иванов Митрофан, который несомненно также инструктировал его в этой части.

Василенко Александр, выезжавший в Попасное и Старобельск должен был также провести работу по сплачиванию националистического подполья. Что именно он проделал в этой части, сейчас сказать не могу.

ВОПРОС: Каким образом областной "Провод" ОУН руководил работой ОУНовского подполья?

ОТВЕТ: Прежде всего необходимо указать, что в интересах конспирации перед участниками ОУН "Провод" не афишировался и если мероприятия руководящего порядка и проводилась, то об этом знали только отдельные лица. Выражалось руководство в том, что члены "Провода" посылались на переферию и принимали приезжавших в редакции, где давали указания по работе.

ВОПРОС: Непосредственно "Провод" ОУН Ворошиловградской области поддерживал связь с ОУНовским подпольем других областей Украины?

ОТВЕТ: Не поддерживал, если не считать факта выезда в г. Киев участника ОУН Осадчей Елены, которая по приезду сообщила, что связалась с руководителем комиссии по выработке нового украинского правописания Завитаевичем. Хотя прямо Осадчая мне не говорила, но я считаю, что это и есть один из руководителей ОУН по Киеву, работавших под прикрытием Комиссии.

ВОПРОС: Об этом мы вас будем допрашивать особо.

Допрос начат в 24 ч/аса/.
Допрос прерван в 3 /часа/ 30 /минут/.

Протокол записан с моих слов верно, мной прочитан в чем и расписываюсь М.Бернацкий.

ДОПРОСИЛ: Нач/альник/ 3 отделения 2 отдела С. Коган.

Архів Управління СБУ по Луганській обл.
Спр. 5204—Арк. 112–113 зв. Оригінал.
Підписи—автограф.

Док. N 3

ВИРОК ВОЄННОГО ТРИБУНАЛУ ВІЙСЬК НКВС ВОРОШИЛОВГРАДСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ У СПРАВІ М. І. БЕРНАЦЬКОГО ТА С. М. ОСАДЧОГО

2 березня 1945 р.

СЕКРЕТНО

ПРИГОВОР
ИМЕНЕМ СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК

1945 года, 2 марта, Военный Трибунал войск НКВД Ворошиловградской области в г. Ворошиловграде, в закрытом судебном заседании, в составе: председательствующего—капитана юстиции МИХАЙЛОВСКОГО, членов—ст. лейтенанта юстиции КАЛМЫКОВА, мл. лейтенанта ОСТРОВСКОГО, при секретаре СТАРЧЕНКО, без участия сторон—обвинения и защиты рассмотрел уголовное дело по обвинению граждан—

1. БЕРНАЦКОГО Максима Ивановича, 1889 года рождения, уроженца села Белогородка Киевского района, Киевской области, проживавшего до ареста в г. Первомайск, Одесской области, из крестьян-бедняков, служащего, беспартийного, украинца, вдовца, служившего в царской армии с 1915 по 1917 год в качестве прапорщика, в 1930 году подвергавшегося аресту органами ОГПУ за связь с националистами, с высшим педагогическим образованием, по профессии преподавателя ВУЗов, имевшему научную степень доцента украинского языка, занимавшего должность профессора и зав/едующего/ кафедрой украинского языка Ворошиловградского пединститута с 1935 по 1942 год, несудимого—и

2. ОСАДЧЕГО Сергея Макаровича, 1888 года рождения, уроженца села Калиновка, Смолянского района, Киевской области, проживавшего до ареста в г. Ворошиловграде, Ворошиловградской области, из крестьян-середняков, служащего, преподавателя средней и высшей школ, с незаконченным высшим образованием, беспартийного, женатого, жена осуждена за контрреволюционную деятельность, имеющего в Красной Армии сына, несудимого,—

Обоих в преступлении, предусмотренном ст.ст. 54-1“а” и 54-11 УК УССР.

Материалами предварительного и судебного следствия Военный Трибунал

УСТАНОВИЛ:

БЕРНАЦКИЙ является убежденным украинским националистом, до Октябрьской революции и в период советской власти он в 1918 году в г. Киеве служил в войсках Центральной рады, в 1930–1942 годах являлся членом контрреволюционного националистического общества “Просвита”, стоя на платформе создания “единого независимого самостоятельного украинского государства”.

За националистическую деятельность он в 1930 году арестовывался органами ОГПУ.

Проживая на временно оккупированной немцами территории в г. Ворошиловграде, в августе 1942 года БЕРНАЦКИЙ установил связь с украинским националистом “ЕВГЕНОМ”, фамилия которого не установлена, прибывшим из западных областей УССР для организации работы по созданию ОУНовского подполья в Ворошиловградской области.

На предложение “ЕВГЕНА” Бернацкий поступил на должность ответственного редактора фашистской газеты “Нове життя” и в указанной должности он служил до момента изгнания немцев— февраля 1942 года.

В августе 1942 года “Евгеном” он был завербован в контрреволюционную организацию “ОУН” и получил от него подпольную ОУНовскую литературу, получив установку об использовании фашистской газеты “Нове життя” в интересах украинских националистов, и вербовки новых членов в “ОУН”.

Будучи редактором указанной газеты, БЕРНАЦКИЙ укомплектовал штат редакции из лиц, настроенных против советской власти в количестве 12 человек, которые являлись авторами многих контрреволюционных статей, помещавшихся в указанной газете, после личного отредактирования БЕРНАЦКОГО.

Тираж газеты, редактором которой был БЕРНАЦКИЙ был от 3 000 до 20 000 экземпляров каждого номера. Указанное количество газет через каждые два дня т/о/е/сть/ по мере их издания типографией, распространялись на территории Ворошиловградской области специально укомплектованным для их распространения штатом, которого насчитывалось лишь только в одном г. Ворошиловграде до 20 человек.

БЕРНАЦКИЙ, как редактор газеты, систематически помещал в нее написанные им статьи немецко-фашистского националистического содержания, излагал в них клевету на советскую власть, Красную

Армию и большевистскую партию, восхваляя фашизм и националистическую деятельность на территории Украины—украинских националистов.

БЕРНАЦКИЙ вербовал в организацию "ОУН" лиц, посещавших редакцию, снабжая их националистической литературой для распространения ее среди населения.

Для проведения контрреволюционной националистической работы к нему прибыли из западных областей ОУНовцы - ЛИЧМАН, ИВАНОВ и ОКСАНА, фамилия которой не установлена, последних он разместил по квартирам, указав адреса—явки к отдельным националистам на территории области, их он также снабжал документами, дающими право на проведение националистической деятельности /организация "ОУН", распространение литературы и организация общества "Просвита"/.

Лично сам БЕРНАЦКИЙ провел работу по организации общества "Просвита" и написал статут, который затем был с целью популяризации напечатан в издаваемой им газете.

В конце ноября 1942 года БЕРНАЦКИЙ организовал курсы украинского языка, на которых обучалось до 150 человек.

Будучи директором указанных курсов он перед слушателями выступал с речью, в которой клеветал на коммунистическое воспитание молодежи при советской власти, восхвалял при этом фашистско-националистические методы воспитания молодежи на территории Украины, это же он неоднократно высказывал на лекциях указанных курсов.

В феврале 1943 года БЕРНАЦКИЙ вместе с оккупантами бежал в тыл немецкой армии, где продолжал контрреволюционную деятельность. Там он был заместителем редактора фашистской газеты "Новая жизнь"—в г. Енакиево Сталинской области с 15.04. по 02.09. 1943 года, с 3 по 20 сентября 1943 года он работал редактором фашистской газеты "На посту"—г. Днепропетровска, затем редактором этой же газеты в г. Кривой Рог, где выпустил два номера указанной газеты.

16.10.1943 он бежал в г. Первомайск Одесской области, продолжая работать редактором газеты "Нове життя" до 15 марта 1944 года до момента изгнания немцев.

На протяжении указанного периода своей деятельности БЕРНАЦКИЙ состоял в связях с группами ОУНовцев, а именно: группа состоявшая из КРАВЦОВА, ХАМАЗЫ и ЗАЙЦЕВА—г. Енакиево, группа, куда входили ВАЩЕНКО, КРУТЬКО и другие—г. Днепропетровск, группа состоявшая из ЦАРЕНКО, БАРАШКЕВИЧ и ЗЕЛИНСКОГО—г. Кривой Рог.

В судебном заседании БЕРНАЦКИЙ свою вину признал полностью.

Подсудимому ОСАДЧЕМУ предъявлено обвинение в том, что он проводил антисоветские разговоры, восхвалял немцев, имел связь с подсудимым БЕРНАЦКИМ, представил квартиру националисту Личману для проведения контрреволюционной работы, разделял взгляды националистов.

Данное обвинение построено на показаниях лишь только БЕРНАЦКОГО, который в судебном заседании этого не подтвердил.

Как БЕРНАЦКИЙ, так и ОСАДЧИЙ подтвердили факт пребывания у ОСАДЧЕГО на квартире ЛИЧМАНА, однако не установлена связь и практическая деятельность ОСАДЧЕГО с БЕРНАЦКИМ, ЛИЧМАНОМ и другими националистами и не нашло в суде своего подтверждения контрреволюционных высказываний ОСАДЧЕГО.

На основании изложенного ВТ признал предъявленное БЕРНАЦКОМУ обвинение по ст.ст. 54-1"а" и 54-11 УК УССР доказанным, а ОСАДЧЕМУ по ст.ст. 54-1"а" и 54-11 УК УССР—не доказанным.

Руководствуясь ст.ст. 296, 297, 302 ч. 1 УПК УССР и 34 УК УССР

ПРИГОВОРИЛ:

БЕРНАЦКОГО Максима Ивановича по совокупности совершенных им предступлений, на основании ст. 54-1"а" УК УССР подвергнуть высшей мере наказания—расстрелу с конфискацией всего имущества и ценностей, изъятых при обыске.

ОСАДЧЕГО Сергея Макаровича в предъявленном обвинении по ст. 54-1"а" и 54-11 УК УССР считать по суду оправданным.

Однако, имея ввиду, что Осадчий находился в среде контрреволюционеров-изменников Родины—он является общественно-опасным, поэтому на основании ст. 33 УК УССР подвергнуть высылке за пределы УССР сроком 10 /десять/ лет, исчисляя ему срок со дня приведения приговора в исполнение.

Меру пресечения ОСАДЧЕМУ—содержание под стражей отменить.

Приговор окончательный и кассационному обжалованию не подлежит.

Печатка Подлинно за надлежащими подписями.
ВЕРНО: и.о. председателя ВТ войск НКВД Ворошиловградской области Майор юстиции Кабанов.

Архів Управління СБУ по Луганській обл.—Спр. 5204, арк. 240–244. Оригінал, підписи—автограф.

Док. N 4

ВКАЗІВКА ГОЛОВИ ВОЄННОЇ КОЛЕГІЇ СРСР В. УЛЬРІХА ПРО НЕГАЙНЕ ВИКОНАННЯ ВИРОКУ ВОЄННОГО ТРИБУНАЛУ ВІЙСЬК НКВС ВОРОШИЛОВГРАДСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ НАД М. І. БЕРНАЦЬКИМ ТА РЕПРЕСУВАННЯ ПОВНОЛІТНІХ ЧЛЕНІВ ЙОГО СІМ'Ї

14 квітня 1945 р.

СРОЧНО
ВОЕННАЯ КОЛЛЕГИЯ
ВЕРХОВНОГО СУДА
СОЮЗА ССР
14 апреля 1945 г.
N 002570

СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО
НАЧАЛЬНИКУ ОТДЕЛА "А" НКГБ СССР
ГЛАВНОМУ ВОЕННОМУ ПРОКУРОРУ КРАСНОЙ АРМИИ
ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЮ ВТ ВОЙСК НКВД ВОРОШИЛОВГРАДСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ

Приговор ВТ войск НКВД Ворошиловградской области от 02.03.45 в отношении БЕРНАЦКОГО Максима Ивановича, осужденного по ст.ст. 54-1"а" и 54-11 УК УССР к ВМН—утвержден всеми инстанциями.

Прошу Вашего распоряжения об установлении местонахождения совершеннолетних членов семьи изменника Родины и их репрессировании.

Для сведения сообщаю, что сегодня мною дано указание Председателю ВТ войск НКВД Ворошиловградской области о немедленном исполнении указанного приговора.

Печатка ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЬ ВОЕННОЙ КОЛЛЕГИИ
ВЕРХОВНОГО СУДА СССР
ГЕНЕРАЛ-ПОЛКОВНИК ЮСТИЦИИ В. УЛЬРИХ

Архів Управління СБУ по Луганській обл.—Спр. 5204, арк. 246. Оригінал. Машинопис, підпис—автограф.

Док. N 5

ВИСНОВКИ ЛУГАНСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСНОЇ ПРОКУРАТУРИ ВНАСЛІДОК ПЕРЕГЛЯДУ КРИМІНАЛЬНОЇ СПРАВИ М. І. БЕРНАЦЬКОГО НА ПІДСТАВІ ВИКОНАННЯ ЗАКОНИ УРСР ВІД 17 КВІТНЯ 1991 РОКУ "ПРО РЕАБІЛІТАЦІЮ ЖЕРТВ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ РЕПРЕСІЙ В УКРАЇНІ"

/без дати/

В президиум Луганского
областного суда

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ
по уголовному делу в отношении
гр/аждани/на Бернацкого М. И.

2 марта 1945 года военным трибуналом войск НКВД Ворошиловградской области приговором к расстрелу по ст.ст. 54-1"а" и 54-11 УК УССР с конфискацией имущества,—

БЕРНАЦКИЙ Максим Иванович—1889 г. р/ождения/, уроженец г. Белогородка Киевской области, украинец, б/ес/п/артийный/, до оккупации профессор Ворошиловградского педагогического института,—

за то, что в период немецко-фашистской оккупации г. Ворошиловграда, изменив Родине, перешел на сторону врага. Добровольно поступив на службу к оккупантам в должности редактора фашистской газеты "Новая жизнь", издаваемой отделом пропаганды Ворошиловградской горуправы, в короткое время укомплектовал редакцию сотрудниками и наладил выпуск и распространение газеты в количестве до 20 тысяч экземпляров, в которой пропагандировал идеи фашизма и украинского национализма. Являясь членом организации ОУН, через газету проводил в жизнь их националистические идеи. С отступлением оккупантов бежал вместе с ними в г/орода/ Сталино, Киев, Днепропетровск, Кривой Рог, Первомайск, продолжая работать в фашистских газетах.

Бернацкий М, И. виновным себя признал полностью и дал показания, которые соответствуют вышеизложенному. /Л.д. 19–20, 22–35, 36–44, 45–55, 56–62, 63–70, 71–75, 76–81, 83–84, 85–113, 115–155, 157–158, 223–226/.

Кроме личного признания, вина осужденного в измене Родине доказана показаниями свидетелей: Терехович Н. И. /Л.д. 159–161/,

Шиманской В. Г. /Л.д. 161–163/, Скоровой Н. П. /Л.д. 164–165/, Гасана И. К. /Л.д. 166–168/ и др/угих/.

Материалами уголовного дела вина Бернацкого М. И. в измене Родине доказана, поэтому он осужден обоснованно и реабилитации не подлежит.

Руководствуясь п.п. 2, 7 Закона УССР от 17.04./19/91 г. "О реабилитации . . . ",—

ПРОШУ:

Признать Бернацкого М. И. обоснованно осужденным и не подлежащим реабилитации.

Прокурор Луганской области
государственный советник
юстиции 3 класса Д. С. Беседа

Дело пересмотрено в порядке исполнения Закона УССР от 17.04./19/91 г.

Архів Управління СБУ по Луганській обл.— Спр. 5204— Арк. 281-282. Оригінал, підпис—автограф.

Док. N 6

ПОСТАНОВА ПРЕЗИДІЇ ЛУГАНСЬКОГО ОБЛАСНОГО СУДУ ПРО ВІДМОВУ В РЕАБІЛІТАЦІЇ М. І. БЕРНАЦЬКОГО НА ПІДСТАВІ ВИСНОВКІВ ЛУГАНСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСНОЇ ПРОКУРАТУРИ

19 грудня 1991 р.

ПОСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ

президиума Луганского областного суда
от "19" декабря 1991 года

Президиум Луганского областного суда в составе:
Председательствующего Редина А. М.
Членов президиума Беседы В. И., Золотарева П. И., Мазанкина В. Н., Бунина А. И., Овершина А. К.
С участием прокурора Курочки Н. М.

Рассмотрев заключение по уголовному делу в отношении Бернацкого М. И.,—

установил:

Военным трибуналом войск НКВД Ворошиловградской области 2 марта 1945 года Бернацкий Максим Иванович, 1889 года рождения, уроженец гор. Белгородка Киевской области, украинец б/ес/п/

партийный/,—осужден по ст.ст. 54-1"а" и 54-11 УК УССР к расстрелу с конфискацией имущества.

Бернацкий осужден за то, что в период оккупации изменил Родине, пропагандировал идеи фашизма.

Материалами дела вина осужденного доказана полностью.

Принимая во внимание изложенное, президиум считает Бернацкого М. И. обоснованно осужденным.

Руководствуясь ст/атьей/ 394 УПК УССР, президиум,—

ПОСТАНОВИЛ

Признать Бернацкого /М. И./ обоснованно осужденным и неподлежащим реабилитации.

ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЬ ЛУГАНСКОГО
ОБЛАСТНОГО СУДА А. М. РЕДИН

***Архів Управління СБУ по Луганській обл.—Спр. 5204.—
Арк. 283. 283 зв. Оригінал, підпис—автограф.***

Док. N 7

СТАТУТ ЛУГАНСЬКОГО ОБЛАСНОГО ТОВАРИСТВА "ПРОСВІТА", РОЗРОБЛЕНИЙ М. І. БЕРНАЦЬКИМ

/без дати/

СТАТУТ
ВОРОШИЛОВГРАДСЬКОГО Т/ОВАРИСТ/ВА "ПРОСВІТА"

1. МЕТА І ЗАВДАННЯ Т/ОВАРИСТ/ВА

1. Товариство "Просвіта" є громадська добровільна культурно-освітня організація, яка спрямовує свою д/і/яльність на розвиток і поширення в маси української національної культури. Для цього "Просвіта" організовує прилюдні лекції й доповіді, концерти, вистави, вечори, культурно-освітні гуртки, курси й школи—як платні, так і

безплатні. Існує т/оварист/во "Просвіта" як юридична правова громадська організація за статутом, затвердженим німецькою владою, має свою печать і штамп.

2. ЧЛЕНСТВО В "ПРОСВІТІ"

2. Т/оварист/во "Просвіта" складається з почесних і дійових членів.

3. Членом "Просвіти" може бути кожен українець віком від 18 років, в якому не вбачається будь-яких антинімецьких чи антиукраїнських тенденцій. Прийом у члени т/оварист/ва провадиться Радою "Просвіти" по рекомендації 2-х дійсних членів Т/оварист/ва і затверджується загальними зборами.

4. За особливо видатні заслуги, пожертви і інші дії на користь Української національної культури, певна особа може бути введена загальними зборами в почесні члени Т/оварист/ва "Просвіта".

5. Члени "Просвіти" щомісяця вносять просвітянські членські внески в сумі, визначені загальними зборами.

6. Виключення з складу членів "Просвіти" відбувається за власним бажанням згідно з письмовою заявою або за ухвалою загальних зборів Т/оварист/ва, а також за смертю члена Т/оварист/ва.

3. КЕРІВНІ ОРГАНИ "ПРОСВІТИ"

А. ЗАГАЛЬНІ ЗБОРИ

7. Загальні збори "Просвіти" є вища керуюча інституція Т/оварист/ва, до компетенції якої належить:

1. Затвердження і зміни статуту.
2. Обрання Ради "Просвіти".
3. Затвердження й виключення членів "Просвіти".
4. Розгляд і затвердження плану роботи Ради "Просвіти", її звітів, кошторисів і ін/ше/.

8. Чергові загальні збори "Просвіти" скликаються раз на чверть року Радою "Просвіти" безпосередньо або за вимогою ініціативної групи з 1/3 членів "Просвіти". Можуть бути скликані позачергові збори Т/оварист/-ва в будь-який інший термін, цим пунктом не передбачені.

9. Збори вважаються правомочними при наявності 1/2 числа членів Т/оварист/ва. Якщо призначені збори не відбудуться, то скликані не раніш як через 3 дні повторні збори вважаються правомочними при всякій кількості присутніх членів Т/оварист/ва.

10. Загальні збори є відкритими для всіх членів "Просвіти", керує зборами обрана в кожному окремому випадку президія. Питання вирішуються прямим відкритим голосуванням при звичайній більшості голосів.

Б. РАДА "ПРОСВІТИ"

11. В період між загальними зборами Т/оварист/ва керує Рада "Просвіти", яка репрезентує "Просвіту" в державних і громадських установах, а також перед усіма офіційними урядовими особами.

12. До фундації Ради "Просвіти" належить:

1/. Проведення в життя всіх міроприємств, ухвалених загальними зборами.

2/. Розгляд справ про вступ і вибуття членів "Просвіти".

3/. Оформлення юридичних актів, договорів і ін/ше/ згідно з п. 11 цього розділу.

4/. Контроль за д/і/яльністю членів "Просвіти", окремих її секцій і гуртків.

5/. Ведення грошових справ Т/оварист/ва.

> ПРИМІТКА: До юридичного оформлення Т/оварист/ва функції Ради виконує ініціативна група, яка оформляє статут Т/оварист/ва, приймає в члени "Просвіти", складає перші загальні збори. З обранням Ради ініціативна група вважається ліквідованою.

13. Рада "Просвіти" складається з 5 членів і 2 кандидатів, які обираються терміном на рік Загальними Зборами більшости 2/3 голосів закритим голосуванням індивідуально. Рада "Просвіти" обирає з свого складу голову, його заступника й секретаря.

14. Голова Ради "Просвіти" керує всіма справами Т/оварист/ва. Він репрезентує раду "Просвіти" перед офіційними установами і урядовими особами.

В його виданні перебуває печать Т/оварист/ва. Від імені Ради голова підписує всі офіційні документи, акти і т/аке/ і/нше/.

Заступник голови Ради "Просвіти" з доручення або за відсутністю голови виконує його функції. Йому також може бути доручено постійне ведення будь-якої галузі просвітянської роботи.

Секретар Ради "Просвіти" веде книгу обліку членів Т/оварист/ва, протокольну книгу Ради "Просвіти", а також проводить поточне листування в усіх справах Т/оварист/ва. Разом з головою Ради чи його заступником секретар готує матеріяли на засідання Ради, а також на розгляд і затвердження загальних зборів.

15. Для продуктивності роботи і в міру потреби "Просвіта" організує з числа своїх членів секції: мовно-літературну з підсекціями німецької й української мови й літератури, спортивно-фізкультурну, музично-драматичну, хорову, юнацьку, допомоги школі і ін/ші/. Керівники секції призначаються Радою Т/оварист/ва і за свою роботу відповідають перед Радою і Загальними Зборами.

4. КОШТИ "ПРОСВІТИ"

16. Т/оварист/во "Просвіта" має в своєму розпорядженні кошти які складаються:

1. З членських внесків.
2. Прибутків від лекцій, вистав концертів, вечорів тощо, а також з пожертв окремих осіб, установ, організацій.

Грошові суми зберігаються в банку на окремому рахунку й перебувають в розпорядженні Ради "Просвіти", яка звітується за їх витрату перед загальними зборами. З наявних грошових сум і поступаючих 20% становить недоторканий фонд, решта—є поточні особові засоби.

5. РЕВІЗІЙНА КОМІСІЯ

17. Для здійснення контролю за діяльностю членів Ради "Просвіти" та окремих керівників секцій при "Просвіті" існує ревізійна комісія, обрана в складі 3 членів загальними зборами "Просвіти". За свою роботу ревізійна комісія звітається перед загальними зборами "Просвіти".

18. Т/оварист/во "Просвіта" може припинити своє існування за розпорядженням відповідного державного органу або за постановою загальних зборів більшістю 4/5 голосів.

При цьому з членів "Просвіти" утворюється ліквідаційна комісія. Грошові засоби й майно, печать, штампи передаються по акту тій особі чи організації, якій доручить суд, відповідна урядова установа, або загальні збори.

Редактор газети "Нове Життя" Бернацький

Архів Управління СБУ по Луганській обл.—Трофейні документи. Ворошиловградська міська управа. Відділ "Просвіта".—Арк. 27–29. Оригінал. Авторизований машинопис.

Ukraine and Russia in the 1930s

HIROAKI KUROMIYA

After 1917 Ukraine became for Moscow the most significant non-Russian republic among the lands of the former Russian Empire. Its importance was dictated not only by its geographic size and large population, but also by its rich natural resources (agriculture, mineral deposits). Moreover, its location was of strategic significance: it bordered on the countries which Moscow regarded as advanced posts for aggression by Western capitalist countries. The history of Ukraine also haunted Moscow. Once relieved of Moscow's tutelage in 1917, Ukraine had immediately become unruly. The revolution and the civil war in Ukraine were hardly comforting: the borderland had to be subdued by force. From Moscow's point of view, Ukraine, a strategic republic, had to become its most important ally, yet Ukraine was potentially Russia's most unwilling partner. The history of Ukrainian-Russian relations in the 1930s illuminates this dilemma and presents a complex picture. Recent findings from archives have resolved many questions, but have raised many more.

One of the most important events in the history of Ukraine in the 1930s was the famine of 1932–1933. Many historians consider the famine a man-made disaster, a genocide premeditated by Moscow to root out the danger of Ukrainian nationalism. Moscow suspected the Ukrainian peasantry of providing the social basis for Ukrainian nationalism, and wished to punish them, thereby eliminating the very root of Ukrainian separatism.[1] According to one Western historian, "Against them [Ukrainians] the famine seems to have been designed as part of a campaign to destroy them as a political factor and as a social organism."[2] Other historians see the famine as a result of drought and mistaken agricultural policy, aggravated by Moscow's enmity toward the petit-bourgeois peasantry in general.[3] Available evidence supports neither view conclusively. However, my research suggests that ethnic issues did play a central role in Russian-Ukrainian relations in this critical decade.

The famine struck not only Ukraine but Russia, Kazakhstan, and other areas of the country as well. It is arguable whether Ukraine was hardest hit by the famine (Kazakhstan lost many more lives proportionally than did Ukraine)[4], but there is no doubt that the famine deprived Ukraine of millions of lives. The collective farms, created by the brutal collectivization and dekulakization drive to secure state procurement of agricultural produce, particularly grain, had not been living up to the expectations of the party leaders. The fortuitous bumper crop of 1930 was followed by poor harvests in subsequent years. 1932 and 1933 were hungry years everywhere. Moscow directed its brutal attack not

Harvard Ukrainian Studies 18(3/4) December 1994: 327–41.

only against the individual farms ("remnants of capitalism") but also against the collective farms. The Kuban′ and Ukraine, the bread basket of the country, bore the brunt of this fierce attack.

Moscow knew what it was doing: it mercilessly took grain from the peasantry. Grain production in the country had declined from 76 million tons in 1930 to 61.8 and 61.1 million tons in 1931 and 1932, respectively, but state procurements increased from 28.2 percent of grain production in 1930 to 32.8 percent in 1931 and were projected to rise to 40–50 percent in 1932. To make matters worse, Moscow continued to export grain in 1931–1932. In the summer of 1932, Molotov returned from Ukraine and reported to the party Politburo that "We are indeed faced with the spectre of famine, and in rich grain districts to boot."[5] Clearly, Stalin was not daunted by this spectre of famine.

When famine forced Ukrainians to seek food in the north (Russia and Belarus′), Moscow ordered in January 1933 that the exodus be halted, claiming that it was "organized by the enemies of the Soviet government, SRs and Polish agents, to agitate, 'through peasants,' in the northern areas of the Soviet Union against the collective farms and the Soviet government." The OGPU was mobilized to stem the exodus.[6] By the beginning of March 1933, 219,460 people had been detained; of them, 186,588 were returned home, and the remainder were put on trial.[7]

Some historians have referred to this border closure as the most devastating evidence of Moscow's anti-Ukrainian genocide. Yet other historians maintain that similar measures were taken elsewhere outside Ukraine to shield the cities from hunger. Moreover, it is not known exactly what kinds of borders were closed. The Russian-Ukrainian administrative borders did not clearly match the ethnic borders: on both sides of the borders Ukrainians and Russians lived intermixed. It is not known whether the Ukrainian villages just north of the border fared better than the Russian villages just south of the border; nor is it known whether the border guards scrutinized the ethnicity of the border crossers.

Some evidence, now published, shows that depopulated Ukrainian villages were then repopulated by people brought in from Russia and Belarus′.[8] Yet archival data show that Ukrainian and Kuban′ villages devastated by the famine were repopulated not only by Russians and Belarusians but also by Ukrainians, and that the Soviet authorities showed little interest in the ethnicity of the resettlers.[9]

Data are contradictory, but clearly the Ukrainian peasants were victimized by Moscow: Ukraine suffered more than Russia.[10] Moreover, the fact that Moscow ferociously attacked the Kuban′, an area which retained close ethnic, historical, and cultural ties with Ukraine, also suggests that Ukrainians were targeted. One still cannot prove, however, that Ukraine and the Ukrainians were singled out for terror. The non-Cossack Ukrainians in the Kuban′ were not subjected to the same fate as the Cossacks. The terror in the Kuban′ may be attributed at least in part to Moscow's suspicion of the Cossack heritage of the

Kuban′. Although Stalin dealt harshly with other grain-producing areas, causing serious famine there, the terror directed against Ukraine and the Kuban′ seems to have been more extensive and more fierce, with the notable exception of Kazakhstan.[11] In some cases of neighboring villages, one village would hardly suffer from famine, while its neighbor would be almost wiped out, but it is not known whether the Russian villages in Ukraine were deliberately spared famine and the Ukrainian villages deliberately targeted.

The intensity of the famine may have been due at least in part to the existence of numerous prosperous peasants in Ukraine and the North Caucasus. In fact, the ethnically Greek and German villages in Ukraine, which tended to be more prosperous than Russian or Ukrainian villages, may have suffered more than the Ukrainian villages.[12] As was the case with Ukrainian villages, these villages, also depopulated, were said to have then been resettled by Russians. The diaspora nationalities stood even below the Ukrainians in the ethnic hierarchy in Ukraine: in Greek villages, for example, the Russian language became the tool of outright rule by Russians, while the Ukrainian language was used to transmit orders from Ukrainians to Greeks. As a result of the ethnic hierarchy, by the mid-1930s the ethnic situation in the Donbas was said to have become "explosive."[13]

All the same, there are reasons (such as those cited earlier) why one is tempted to believe that the Ukrainians were targeted for terror. At least to the extent that Moscow suspected the Ukrainians, particularly Ukrainian peasants, of harboring nationalist sentiments, and the prosperous peasants, particularly the Ukrainian peasants, of concealing inclinations toward capitalist restoration, Moscow must have been disposed to terrorize the Ukrainians rather than the Russians: whereas Ukrainians were potentially suspect simply for being Ukrainians, Russians were not politically suspect for being Russian. Again, despite newly available data, evidence showing that the 1932–1933 famine was a premeditated assault directed against Ukraine and the Ukrainians is inconclusive. To judge the intention by the consequence, as some historians of the famine have done, is dangerous logic. For example, "Why did it happen? We can only judge the tree by its fruit."[14] Much more research is needed.

This does not mean, however, that national factors did not matter in Moscow's treatment of Ukraine. As many studies of the famine emphasize, the contrary was the case. The famine crisis was also a political crisis which challenged Stalin's leadership: his collectivization drive did not prove the viability of the new agricultural order; his industrialization drive, benefiting little from the collectivization of agriculture, squeezed the nation to the limit. The 1932 challenge posed by the former Stalin supporter Martem′ian Nikitich Riutin is famous,[15] but his was far from an isolated case: a number of similar challenges to Stalin's leadership surfaced in the country at that time.[16] One ought not take these cases at face value, however, because the GPU was out to get enemies and often fabricated crimes. Yet Stalin was politically right in suspecting that discontent was mounting in the country at that time, and, as the

dictator, he duly made a move to eliminate opposition and deal preemptively with any possible challenge to his power. As was the case in previous crises (the civil war, the end of NEP), national groups became politically suspect almost by default because of their supposed separatism or nationalism.[17]

Moscow hit Ukraine hard. As Hryhorii Kostiuk wrote more than three decades ago, using published sources, and as Iurii Shapoval has recently shown based on archival material, in Ukraine in 1932–1934 at least six or seven major "counterrevolutionary" organizations were liquidated by the Soviet secret police: the Ukrainian National Center, allegedly headed by Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, the prominent historian and the former president of the Ukrainian Central Rada; the Union of the Kuban' and Ukraine; the All-Ukrainian SR Center (Organization of the Ukrainian SRs); the Counter-Revolutionary Sabotage Organization; the Ukrainian Military Organization; the Polish Military Organization; and the All-Ukrainian Borot'bist Center.[18] More were to follow after Sergei Kirov's murder in December 1934. As has often been said, the Great Terror began in 1933 in Ukraine.

As the news of famine reached the West, Ukrainian groups in the West and in Poland became vocal about the plight of their country. Moscow was concerned about their activity and its impact on Soviet Ukraine: in response to the famine crisis the Ukrainian groups might unite around the cause of nationalism. The Ukrainian Communist party leader Stanislav Kosior contended in November 1933 that nine out of ten "counterrevolutionary" organizations in Ukraine had adopted the slogans of Ukrainian nationalism.[19] The internal crisis was complicated by external factors, particularly the 1933 accession to power of Hitler in Germany. Moscow contended that this event encouraged and strengthened the anti-Soviet front of émigré organizations.[20] The police hunted for nationalist suspects even among rank-and-file workers. Moreover, those Ukrainians who were born or lived in the western border areas became politically suspect simply by that fact alone.[21] Many Western Ukrainian Communists who had emigrated to the Soviet Union were arrested as enemies.[22]

Important changes in Moscow's nationality policy coincided with the famine crisis. This was, however, more than a mere coincidence. Stalin allowed for no possibility of organized resistance at a time of grave crisis. His attack on *korenizatsiia* (indigenization, or, in the Ukrainian context, Ukrainianization) is a good example. In December 1932, quite abruptly, Moscow decided to reverse at least some aspects of *korenizatsiia*. On 14 December Molotov and Stalin declared that in the Northern Caucasus (the Kuban' area) the enemies of the Soviet government had used Ukrainianization as a legal form by which to organize resistance to Soviet government policies. The Kuban' area was ordered to conduct government business, publication, and teaching in the Russian language.[23] The following day Stalin dispatched a telegram in which he ordered a halt to Ukrainianization in those areas in the Russian Republic, Central Asia, and Kazakhstan where Ukrainianization had been promoted previously. He quoted the same reason for this move as for that in the Kuban':

Ukrainianization could only play into the hands of "bourgeois-nationalist elements who had been expelled from Ukraine as wrecking elements."[24]

In the Ukrainian SSR, this political reversal was not complete. The tension between Ukrainianization as a tool to disarm nationalism and as a weapon to be used by nationalists to promote separatism had always been evident, but at this stage Moscow still believed that *korenizatsiia* could serve its purposes.[25] This did not mean that the attack on Ukrainianization in Ukraine was benign. It was indeed violent. Not only were "bigwigs" terrorized, but many teachers in the Ukrainian schools were fired and arrested as "enemies." In 1933, as many as ten percent of them were said to belong to the enemy camp.[26] The attack against Ukrainianization inevitably meant an attack against the "national Communists" who had promoted Ukrainianization.[27] Already at this time, tried and tested Communists came to be branded not merely as "nationalists" but also as "Trotskyites and Fascists," with Moscow making little distinction among them.[28]

As these cases suggest, the famine crisis marked the transition of enemy construction from the class enemy to the class-neutral enemy of the people.[29] The Great Terror was neither class-based terror nor solely ethnic terror, but clearly it contained elements of ethnic terror. From the famine years onward, numerous "Fascist cells" in German villages were uncovered and eliminated by the secret police. Likewise, from 1934 onward, many "Fascist German spy rings" were intercepted in the industrial Donbas. Then the Kirov murder in December 1934 seems to have triggered an explicit assault on Germans and Poles in Ukraine, particularly in the western border zones.[30] This was soon followed by more extensive deportations of Poles and Germans.[31] In 1937 the Chinese in Kyiv disappeared, clearly a wholesale deportation, just as the Koreans and Chinese were deported from the Far East.[32] In 1937 and 1938 Moscow specifically instituted terror against the Germans, Poles, Greeks, Latvians, Macedonians, Estonians, Finns, Iranians, and other ethnic minorities in Ukraine and elsewhere: because of their ethnic origins and alleged foreign connections, they appeared to Moscow as potential fifth columns.[33] (In The Donbas, the party chief said explicitly that the Donbas ought to get rid of the Germans: "We don't need them."[34]) One German collective farm near Khartsyz'k, Donets'k Oblast', lost all its men: they all were said to be "enemies."[35] In 1937–1938, according to these orders, at least 3,029 Poles, 3,608 Germans, and 3,470 Greeks were shot in the Donbas (Donets'k Oblast') alone.[36]

The Ukrainians were terrorized almost equally harshly.[37] However, there is no conclusive evidence that they were terrorized more than the Russians. No comprehensive data are available. My research suggests that the number of death sentences passed in the Ukrainian republic in 1937–1938, 122,237, was approximately 17.8 percent of those passed in the country as a whole (681,692).[38] This corresponds roughly to the proportion (17.7 percent) of the population of the Ukrainian republic to that of the Soviet Union as a whole.[39] It is not known whether in Ukraine and elsewhere disproportionately more

Ukrainians were repressed than Russians. The available data are probably incomplete, although how incomplete is not known. One could hypothesize that the Ukrainians were more vulnerable to terror because of their nationality, but that because Russians stood at the top of the hierarchy in Ukraine, they were at least as vulnerable to repression in Ukraine as Ukrainians. Another possibility is that the data have been systematically altered to hide Moscow's deliberate terror against Ukraine. How probable this version is also is not known.

Nor do available data on the Gulag population in 1937–1940 conclusively show that the Ukrainians were targeted for terror. In 1937 the Ukrainians accounted for 16.85 percent of the camp population, roughly the same as their proportion to the population in the USSR as a whole, 16.33 percent.[40] Again, these data may be far from complete. One could also put forth the hypothesis that Moscow believed that the dekulakization drive and the famine had largely eliminated the immediate threat of Ukrainian nationalism. Hence, one might infer, the Great Terror appeared to be only as intense in Ukraine as in the Soviet Union as a whole. That is not to say that certain areas in Ukraine were not hit particularly hard by the terror: witness the devastation in the Donbas with its large industrial centers.[41] Clearly, much more research is needed in this respect as well.

It is possible that Stalin entertained the temptation to deport many Ukrainians, if not all Ukrainians, from Ukraine. Before World War II Stalin did deport certain ethnic groups both in and outside Ukraine. During the war, Germans were deported wholesale as an enemy nation from Ukraine and from the Volga areas, while smaller nationalities were subjected to the same fate during and after the war.[42] It is not known whether Moscow had conclusive evidence that these nationalities were much less loyal to the Soviet government than Russians. Nor is there conclusive evidence that, save for the newly annexed Western Ukraine, which had never been part of the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union, Ukrainians proved substantially less loyal than Russians. All the same, Moscow knew well that the Ukrainians, as was true of other nationalities and not true of the Russians, had a third political option: neither pro-Russian nor pro-German, but a pro-Ukrainian political orientation. During the war, this option provided a political alternative even in such highly Russified areas as the Donbas.[43]

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There was no administrative-territorial unit called Ukraine under the Tsarist regime. After the October revolution, the Soviet government in Moscow would not tolerate the independence of Ukraine and crushed the Ukrainian revolution. Moscow then recreated Ukraine as a legitimate, Soviet republic of an oppressed nation. In his recent provocative essay Yuri Slezkine has argued that Moscow's policy toward formerly oppressed nations in the country, at least

those "groups which had already [by the 1930s] had their own republics and their own extensive bureaucracies," had been surprisingly consistent in promoting their "nationalism" (particularism). (By the end of the war Stalin realized the dream of Ukrainian nationalists, the unification of Ukrainian territory, if not in the form they had envisioned.) In fact, it is into these national republics that the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, finally realizing the rhetoric of Soviet policy—self-determination.[44]

The Ukrainian experience of the 1930s may warrant some revision of Slezkine's thesis. The ideal Ukraine for Moscow was a loyal, junior partner. There had always been a danger of the junior partner rebelling against its senior partner. Moscow feared the danger and used both threat and patronage. Moscow was tempted to bully and terrorize Ukraine at the slightest sign or possibility of disloyalty. It cannot be proved conclusively whether or not in the 1930s, Moscow deliberately used fratricidal genocides to subjugate Ukraine. Whatever the rhetoric or the substance of its seemingly consistent policy toward nationalities, political terror was an option the Soviet government willingly used against non-Russian nationalities from the very beginning of its rule. (Ironically, it can be said that by using such terror Moscow promoted ethnic particularism.)

Whatever the intention of Moscow's policy toward the national republics, Ukraine, like Russia, was not a nation-state but a multi-national state. Unlike Russia, however, Ukraine had had no imperial traditions and had fewer difficulties in developing its ethnonational identity.[45] The ethnic terror against some non-Ukrainian nationalities in the 1930s and 1940s and the Holocaust during the war contributed, to an extent, to the ethnic "purification" of the Ukrainian republic. The post-war years, however, witnessed no substantial Ukrainianization of the population in the republic. Ukrainians accounted for 78.2 percent of the republic's population in 1937, but their proportion declined to 76.8 percent in 1959 and to 72.7 percent in 1989. Mainly at the cost of other minorities, the Russian population increased from 11.3 percent in 1937 to 16.9 percent in 1959 and to 22.2 percent in 1989.[46] This change was at least in part due to a conscious Russification policy pursued by Moscow. In any case, it is this multi-national state that declared independence in 1991.

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NOTES

1. The best example is Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow. Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (Oxford University Press, 1986). chap. 18; and James E. Mace, "The Man-Made Famine of 1933 in Soviet Ukraine," in *Famine in Ukraine, 1932–1933*, ed. Roman Serbyn and Bohdan Krawchenko (Edmonton, Alberta, 1986). *Report to Congress. Commission on the Ukraine Famine* (Washington, D.C., 1988), less explicit on the deliberateness of the famine, concludes that the famine was Stalin's genocide against Ukrainians. A similar view was widely held in Ukraine at the time. In January 1934 the German consulate in Kyiv reported that there was a widespread belief among the population that the Soviet government had promoted the spread of the famine "in order to bring the Ukrainians to their knees [um die Ukrainer auf die knie zu zwingen]." See Dmytro Zlepko, ed., *Der ukrainische Hunger-Holocaust. Stalins verschwiegener Völkermord 1932/33 an 7 Millionen ukrainischen Bauern im Spiegel geheimgehaltener Akten des deutschen Auswärtigen Amtes* (Sonnenbühl, 1988), p. 261.
2. Mace, "The Man-Made Famine," p. 12.
3. Note J. Arch Getty's review of Conquest's book in *The London Review of Books*, 22 January 1977, and Mark B. Tauger, "The 1932 Harvest and the Famine of 1933," *Slavic Review* 50(1) Spring 1991, and Stephan Merl, "Golod 1932–1933 godov—genotsid ukraintsev dlia osushchestvleniia politiki rusifikatsii?," *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1995 (1).
4. See Zh. B. Abylkhozhin, M. K. Kozybaev, and M. B. Tatimov, "Kazakhstanskaia tragediia," *Voprosy istorii* 1989 (7).
5. N. A. Ivnitskii, *Kollektivizatsiia i raskulachivanie (nachalo 30-kh godov)* (Moscow, 1994), p. 203.
6. Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' (TsDAHO) Ukraïny, fond 1, opys 16, sprava 9, arkush 115–16.
7. Ivnitskii, *Kollektivizatsiia i raskulachivanie*, p. 204.
8. *Kolektyvizatsiia i holod na Ukraïni 1929–1933. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kyiv, 1992), p. 642; *Zoloti vorota* (Kyiv), 1993(4): pp. 107–108; and Vasyl' Marochko, "Natsional'nyi aspekt holodomoru 1932–33 rr. v Ukraïni," *Holodomor 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraïni. Prychyny i naslidky. Mizhnarodna naukova konferentsiia. Kyiv, 9–10 veresnia 1993 r. Materialy* (Kyiv, 1995), p. 73.
9. I owe this point to Terry Martin.
10. There is some disagreement on this. See the discussion by Robert Conquest and Mark Tauger in *Slavic Review* 53(1) Spring 1994: 318–19.

11. See Ivnitskii, *Kollektivizatsiia i raskulachivanie*. See also articles (including Ivnitskii's) in *Holodomor 1932–1933 rr. v Ukraïni*.

12. It is said that in one Greek district, Donets'k Oblast', 30 percent of the population died of starvation. See *33-i: holod. Narodna knyha-memorial* (Kyiv, 1991), p. 230. For an account of famine in a German village, see, for example, *Nimtsi v Ukraïni. 20–30-ti rr. XX st. Zbirnyk dokumentiv derzhavnykh arkhiviv Ukraïny* (Kyiv, 1994), p. 171, which says that only 18 of 103 families in the village Morozove, Khortytsia district, Zaporizhzhia Oblast' survived the famine. For the German and Greek peasants in Ukraine and their experience of collectivization and famine, see also B. V. Chyrko, "Natsional'ni menshnosti na Ukraïni v 20–30-kh rr.," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 1990 (1): 59; L. D. Nasiedkina, "Hrets'ki natsional'ni sil'rady ta raiony v Ukraïni (Druha polovyna 20-kh–30-ti roky)," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 1992 (6): 69, 71.

13. L. D. Nasedkina, "Grecheskie natsional'nye sel'skie sovety Ukrainy vo vzaimodeistvii natsional'noi i sotsial'noi politiki," in *Greki Ukrainy. Istoriia i sovremennost'* (Donets'k, 1991), p. 126.

14. Mace, "The Man-Made Famine," p. 11. See also Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow,* p. 326. For the perilous similarity of this sort of inquiry to the Stalinist logic of terror, see Getty's review of Conquest (note 3, above).

15. See Martem'ian Riutin, *Na koleni ne vstanu* (Moscow, 1992).

16. The most prominent in the Donbas, for example, was the Nechaev affair in the autumn of 1932. See Derzhavnyi arkhiv Donets'koï oblasti (DADO), fond R-835, opys 1-sch, sprava 53, arkush 3-38.

17. The most notable case in Ukraine in the previous crisis was the 1930 SVU (*Spilka vyzvolennia Ukraïny*, The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) trial in Kharkiv. See Hiroaki Kuromiya, "Stalinskii 'velikii perelom' i protsess nad 'Soiuzom Osvobozhdeniia Ukrainy,'" *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 1994 (1).

18. Hryhory Kostiuk, *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine. A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror, 1929–1939* (New York, 1960), pp. 85–98, and Iu. I. Shapoval, *Ukraïna 20–50-kh rokiv. Storinky nenapysanoï istoriï* (Kyiv, 1993), chaps. 5–10.

19. *Itogi i blizhaishie zadachi provedeniia natsional'noi politiki na Ukraine. Doklad t. Kosiora i iz rechi t. Postysheva na noiabr'skom ob"edinennom plenume TsK i TsK KP(b)U* (Moscow, 1933), pp. 35–36.

20. See the November 1933 speech by Pavel' Postyshev in his *Stat'i i rechi* (Kharkiv, 1934), p. 287.

21. See testimonies in *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book,* vol. 1., *Book of Testimonies* (Toronto, 1953), pp. 115–20.

22. See Roman Solchanyk, "The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919–1938" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973), pp. 310–13. One of these Communists survived the Great Terror and wrote a memoir: Volodymyr Gzhytsky, *Night and Day*, tr. from the Ukrainian by Ian Press (Edmonton, Alberta, 1988). For the fate of West Ukrainian intellectuals in the Soviet Union at that time, see O. S. Rubl'ov and Iu. A. Cherchenko, *Stalinshchyna i dolia zakhidnoukraïns'koï intelihentsiï* (Kyiv, 1994), part 3.

23. *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv na Ukraïni. Ochyma istorykiv, movoiu dokumentiv* (Kyiv, 1990). pp. 291–94. For the abruptness of this change as well as a more extensive discussion of this process, see Martin, "The Soviet Nationalities Policy, 1923–1938," chap. 4. For social-economic contexts within which Ukrainianization came to be reversed, see George O. Liber, *Soviet Nationality Policy, Urban Growth, and Identity Change in the Ukrainian SSR, 1921–1934* (Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Bohdan Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciuosness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* (New York, 1985), chap. 3.

24. Shapoval, *Ukraïna 20–50-rokiv. Strorinky nenapisanoï istoriï*, p. 110.

25. I owe this point to Martin, "The Soviet Nationalities Policy, 1923–1938."

26. V. P. Zatons'kyi's remark in December 1933, quoted in Heorhii Kas'ianov, *Ukraïns'ka intelihentsiia 1920-kh–30-kh rokiv. Sotsial'nyi portret ta istorychna dolia* (Kyiv, 1992), p. 154. A month earlier, his estimate was even higher: 30–40 percent. See "Sozdavaia sem'iu narodov. O praktike reshennia natsional'nogo voprosa na Ukraine v 20–30-e gody," *Pod znamenem leninizma* 1989 (11): 53.

27. See James Mace, *Communism and The Dilemma of National Liberation. National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), chap. 8.

28. See for example Postyshev, *Stat'i i rechi*, p. 271.

29. This is one of the central themes of a book on the Donbas that I am completing. See also Hiroaki Kuromiya, "The Commander and the Rank and File. Managing the Soviet Coal-Mining Industry, 1928–1933," in *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization*, ed. by William G. Rosenberg and Lewis H. Siegelbaum (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), p. 159.

30. Note particularly the Politburo secret order of 9 December 1934 in TsDAHO, fond 1, opys 16, sprava 11, arkush 294–5 and 323. For the preparation of these anti-German measures, see Ingeborg Fleischhauer and Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Germans. Past and Present* (New York, 1986), pp. 34, 91.

31. M. F. Buhai, "Deportatsiï naselennia z Ukraïny (30–50-ti roky)," *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 1990 (10): 34, and V. I. Paliienko,

"Nezakonni represii proty pol's'koho naselennia v Ukraïni u 20–30-kh rokakh," *Za mizhnatsional'nu zlahodu proty shovinizmu ta ekstremizmu* (Kyiv, 1995).

32. See N. Korzhavin, "V soblaznakh krovavoi epokhi," *Novyi mir* 1992 (7): 192.

33. For these instructions, see, for example, Iu. Z. Daniliuk, "Masovi karal'ni aktsiï orhaniv NKVS v konteksti politychnykh repressii v Ukraïni v kintsi 30-kh rokiv," in *Shosta Vseukraïns'ka naukova konferentsiia z istorychnoho kraieznavstva (m. Luts'k, veresen'–zhovten' 1993 r.)* (Luts'k, 1993). See also Oleh Bazhan and Viktor Voinalovych, "Viina proty vlasnoho narodu," *Literaturna Ukraïna* 29 July 1993; Oleg Mikhailov, "Limit na rasstrel," *Sovershenno sekretno* 1993 (7): 5; and Nataliia Gevorkian, "Vstrechnye plany po unichtozheniiu sobstvennogo naroda," *Moskovskie novosti* 1992 (25): 18–19.

34. TsDAHO, fond 1, opys 7, sprava 517, arkush 132–33.

35. Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Moscow), fond 17, opis' 21, delo 5196, list 151.

36. V. M. Nikol's'kyi, "'Velika chystka,'" in *Pravda cherez roky. Statti, spohady, dokumenty* (Donets'k, 1995), p. 29.

37. Note, for example, the devastation of Ukrainian studies in Ukraine in *Represovane kraieznavstvo, 20–30-i roky* (Kyiv, 1991).

38. My calculation based on V. P. Popov, "Gosudarstvennyi terror v sovetskoi Rossii, 1923–1953 gg. Istochniki i ikh interpretatsiia," *Otechestvennye arkhivy* 1992 (2): 28 (despite the title, the data covers the USSR) and Ivan Bilas, *Represyvno-karal'na systema v Ukraïni, 1917–1953. Suspil'no-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1994), p. 379.

39. My calculation based on *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1937 g. Kratkie itogi* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 45–47.

40. J. Arch Getty, Gabor Rittersporn, and Victor N. Zemskov, "Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-War Years. A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence," *The American Historical Review* 98(4) October 1993: 1028.

41. This observation is based on my work on the Donbas.

42. The classic work is Aleksander Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples. The Deportation and Fate of Soviet Minorities at the End of the Second World War* (New York, 1978), and the recent work *Tak èto bylo. Natsional'nye repressii v SSSR, 1919–1952 gody*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1993).

43. See, for example, Ie. Stakhiv, "Natsional'no-politychne zhyttia Donbasu v 1941–1943 rr. (na osnovi osobystykh sposterezhen'), *Suchasna Ukraïna* 12 (26 August and 9 and 23 September 1956).

44. Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* 53(2) Summer 1994 (quotation on p. 445).

45. For Russia's identity problems, see Roman Szporluk, "The Eurasia House. Problems of Identity in Russia and Eastern Europe," *Cross Currents* 1990 (9).

46. *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia*, p. 94, and *Natsional'nyi sostav naseleniia SSSR po dannym perepisi naseleniia 1989 g.* (Moscow, 1991), p. 12.

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The Spiritual Circle in the *Secret of Secrets* and the *Poem on the Soul*[1]

MOSHE TAUBE

In 1978, William F. Ryan, the scholar who has most extensively studied the Slavic version of the *Secret of Secrets* (Тайная Тайных, hereafter *TT*), noticed (1978, 252) the following difference between the Slavic text published by Speranskij and the Hebrew version published by Gaster:

> [C. *Justice*. G(aster). 38, 39; Sp(eranskij). 152–54, III]
>
> *TT* is similar to G. but in the section called by Steele 'The Circle of the Sphere' *TT* has: 'And therefore I wish to draw for you *two* circles [my italics. WFR], one worldly and one spiritual.' *TT* does not in fact contain any diagrams at all and the text is much abbreviated.

This brief notice about "The Circle of the Sphere" refers to section 39 of the Hebrew version of the *Secretum Secretorum*, (Gaster 1908, with Hebrew text on p. י״א and his English translation on p. 20):

> And I will give thee here the wisdom of Divine philosophy in the shape of a picture divided into eight sections, and that will tell thee all the objects of the world, and all that refers to the governance of the world, and all their degrees and qualities. And how each degree obtains its share of right. And I have divided this circle in such a manner that each section represents one degree, and with whichever section thou beginnest thou wilt find all that is most precious within the circle of the wheel. And because the thoughts stand in this world opposite to one another, one above and the other below, have I arranged it to begin in accordance with the order of the world. And this likeness is the most important portion of this book and the very purport of thy request. And if in reply to thy demand I had not sent thee but this picture, it would have sufficed thee. Therefore, study it very carefully and take heed of it, and thou wilt find therein all that thou desirest, thou wilt obtain all thy wishes. And all that I have taught thee at length is contained here, like in a brief summary.

The Hebrew mss. have here a circle divided into eight sections with the following cyclical maxim (Gaster 1908, Hebrew text p. י״ב and English translation p. 20; see pp. 356–57 below for illustrative examples of the circles in Hebrew, Arabic, and English):

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1. The world is a garden
   hedged in by sovereignty.
2. Sovereignty is lordship
   exalted by law.
3. Law is guidance
   governing the king.[2]
4. The king is a shepherd
   mustering the army.[3]
5. The army are dragons[4]
   fed by money.
6. Money is food
   gathered by the people.
7. The people are servants
   subjected to justice.
8. Justice is happiness[5]
   and the establishment of the world.

The same section, ending with the circle in eight parts, is found also in the Arabic original (See Badawi 1954, 126ff).[6] But in Slavic[7] we have something quite different:

> а протоже[8] хочю ти написати два кржги.[9] єдинъ свѣⷮскїи[10] а дроѵгии[11] дх҃овʼныи. а почʼноу ти свѣⷮскїи сʼвѣтоⷨ,[12] а дх҃овʼныи дш҃єю. а каⷤдыи[13] ѿ ниⷯ имать[14] ѡсʼми часʼтєи. а ими тобѣ завѣзȣю вʼси ѡбыходы досʼтатиѧ иⷯ. а быⷯ[15] ти написаⷧ толʼко[16] два тыи[17] кʼроѵги. досыть[18] єси мѣлъ[19] на тоⷨ, занʼже нєвозмоⷤно цр҃ю изʼвѣсʼти[20] сʼвѣтьсʼкаѧ.[21] нє изʼвѣⷣ[22] дх҃овʼнаѧ. но лиⷯ[23] бєсєдою мрⷣою. а бєз того нє поможєть[24] ємȣ ни планєта[25] єго. а вʼсє чʼто поминано во кʼнизє сєи изʼдолʼга завєзжєтсѧ во кʼратʼцє во кʼрȣзєⷯ[26] сиⷯ[27] аминь.
>
> And therefore I wish to draw for thee *two circles*, one worldly and one spiritual. And I will start for thee the worldly by "world" and the spiritual by "soul." And each one of them contains *eight parts*. And by means of these [circles] I will draw together for thee the entirety of their purport. And had I drawn for thee but these two circles, thou wouldt have had enough of it. For it is impossible for a king to understand worldly matters without understanding the spiritual ones, except through learned conversation, and without that not even his star will help him. And everything which I describe extensively in this book is summarized in concise manner in these circles. Amen.

The two promised circles, as Ryan (1978, 252) observes, are missing from the Slavic *TT*.[28]

Two questions are raised by this. First, whence did the second circle come? Second, where did *both* circles go? Were they simply deleted from *TT* or were they copied and recollated under another title, or even under different titles? At this stage we have a reasonable hypothesis concerning the first question, and a solid but only partial answer concerning the second.

In a previous paper (Taube 1995) I presented my interpretation of the controversial "Poem on the Soul" in the *Laodicean Epistle*, where I sided with Fine, Kämpfer and Maier on the question of the provenance of the "Poem," which I, like them, assumed to be Jewish. I departed from the traditional view of the "Poem" in my interpretation of some lines, and in maintaining that the corruption by Muscovite scribes of the Ruthenian "Душа самость властна" to "Душа самовластна" is to be linked with a similar corruption of "самость духовная" to "самовласть духовная" in the *TT*. However, I did not have a clear picture of the nature of this link. At the time, I failed to notice the significance of Ryan's 1978 observation about two circles in the Slavic *TT* as against a single circle in Hebrew, though I noticed, as did Ryan (1978, 244), "certain similarities of terminology and sentiment with the *Laodikiyskoye poslaniye* of Fyodor Kuritsyn." I can console myself only with the fact that neither Ryan himself (1968, 654n3), who considered the two circles instead of one "the result of a mistranslation", nor the scholars who cited his 1978 paper (particularly Bulanin, who re-edited Speranskij's text in 1984), realized the importance of this passage.

As for the first question, concerning the provenance of the extra circle promised by the Slavic *TT*, we assume with Ryan, for this addition as well as for other additions in *TT*, that "the extreme topicality of these minor interpolations for the political and cultural scene in Muscovy and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tempt one to suggest that they are the work of the translator" (1978, 258). This may mean either that the translator into Slavic had an extra Hebrew circle, or that he himself composed the extra circle. This assumption requires further corroboration by a more detailed analysis of the interpolations and of the deviations from the Hebrew text found in *TT*. Such analysis, which should take into consideration Ryan's impression "that the *Secreta* was translated with political [and probably, we may add, religious—M.T.] aims in mind" (1978, 258), is beyond the scope of the present research note.

As for the second question, concerning the whereabouts in the Slavic tradition of the vanished two circles, we should ask ourselves whether we know of two cyclical maxims in eight parts, one about the world, beginning with свѣтъ or житие, and the other about the soul, beginning with дȣша. We have not yet found a Slavic version of the maxim about the world, but a maxim about the soul has been staring us in the face all the time and we did not realize it. It is obviously the "Poem on the Soul" found in the *Laodicean Epistle*. We maintain,

then, that the "Muscovite" "Poem on the Soul" traditionally attributed to Fedor Kuricyn was originally part of the Ruthenian version of the *Secret of Secrets*.

We assume that the Spiritual Circle in *TT* was put into the Slavic translation by the Jew who translated the *Secretum* from Hebrew into Slavic. Contrary to what Lur'e (e.g. 1984, 160) and others have claimed, the "Poem on the Soul" is not a Russian translation, but a Ruthenian one, of Jewish origin. It was subsequently appropriated and used in Muscovy (see Klibanov 1960, 333–50, Lur'e 1960, 174ff) in intellectual and theological controversies, with particular prominence given to its opening line about the "sovereignty of the soul"—a concept which did not figure in the original wording of the Ruthenian text, but emerged in Muscovy as a result of the text having been corrupted by Muscovite copyists unfamiliar with Ruthenian.

We further assume that the circles, presented as the core of Aristotle's wisdom in matters of governance, were excised from the *TT* by an early reader, who followed the explicit advice in the *TT* to keep these secret treasures of political wisdom out of reach of unworthy eyes (Speranskij 1908, 138):

> но во истин'нѹ знаменавахо^{м}[29] таины раз'вер'зене и печатлѣи притчами[30] дабы не оупала[31] книга нш҃а сїа в' рѫкѹ недостоиныхъ. да внег^{д}а изведають то, ч'то и^{м} бг҃ъ не соудилъ вѣдати. но бы^{х} то ѧ разорилъ завѣтъ[32] того хто^{ж} мне тое ѿкры^{л}.[33] а тако^{ж} тѧ зап'рисѧгаю,[34] и ꙗко и мене заприсѧгали[35] ѡ сїю вѣщь. а хто оуведавъ сїю вещь таинѹю.[36] ѿкрыеть недостоинымъ. оущепень[37] есть сего света. и ѡного[38] г^{с}и сила^{м} оуховаи[39] на^{с} ѿ сего ами^{н}.
>
> But in truth we have hinted at the secrets scattered and sealed (in this book) by means of allegories, lest this book of ours should fall into unworthy hands. And if they were to learn that which God has not judged them worthy of learning, I would have broken the covenant with regard to Him who revealed this to me. I too, therefore, swear you (into secrecy) just as I was sworn about this thing. And whoever, having learned this secret matter, discloses it to unworthy people, will be cut off this as well as of the other world, may the Lord of Hosts guard us from him (*or:* this), Amen.

This reader may well have been Fedor himself, who preferred to reserve the Worldly Circle for the benefit of his master and protector Ivan III, whereas the Spiritual Circle, which is our "Poem on the Soul" in eight parts, he preserved in encrypted form (see for example ms. GIM Muz. 2251, facsimile in AFED 259, where the poem is written in a basically consonantal script, with occasional vowels put in). If we take at face value the signature found in the "paschal" and "grammatical" types (AFED 257–65) identifying Fedor Kuricyn as the translator of the "Laodicean Epistle," then we will have to assume (in accordance with similar propositions made by R. Stichel 1991 and C. de Michelis 1993a, 1993b, and 1995) that the term "Laodicean Epistle" refers to a portion of the

text that originally was, but is no more, part of the perhaps "casual" assembly of texts, originally unrelated, which as a *pars pro toto* carries this name. Alternatively, we may assume that having recourse to such an obvious Christian title was meant to serve as camouflage, much in the manner that the Jewish canon of prayer known as *maḥazor* was termed "Psalter" in the translation by the converted Jew Feodor (on this text, see Zuckerman 1987).

We are now in a position to reconstruct with more assurance the original shape of the cyclical maxim on the soul, since we know that it contains eight sections, with each section starting with the word that ended the previous section, and with each section being a definition of a term, a noun, usually by another noun, plus extensions which may either be nominal or verbal. We may also be able, through our examination of the parallel "worldly circle," and of the *TT* in general, to grasp the tenor of the "spiritual circle" and make learned guesses about the analogies to be expected. We thus have some reasonable guidelines of form and content which would enable us to use for the reconstruction the best readings from all three types as defined by Lur'e. Some of the explanations which we proposed in 1995, e.g. "defined" for соорȣжаєтсѧ in line 8, will consequently have to be given up. We conserve, however, the proposed emendation of самовластна › самость властна in line 1, on the ground that this is a simplified paraphrase of the view presented in the *TT* immediately after the "circle," namely that the soul is a substance separate from (and subjected to) the primary spiritual substance which is the intellect.[40] We also conserve the proposed emendation of пророкъ › прокъ in Lur'e's (AFED p. 265) line 5 (our line 6, cf. *infra*) on the ground that this is indeed the reading found in the earliest manuscript, and that it perfectly fits the context. We propose therefore the following reconstruction:

1. Дȣша самость властна заграда єи вѣра.
2. Вѣра наказаніє ставит сѧ пророкомъ.
3. Пророкъ старѣишина исправляєтсѧ чюдотвореніемъ.
4. Чюдотвореніє даръ оусилѣєтъ мȣдростїю.
5. Мудрость сила еи житиє фарисѣиско.
6. Фарисѣиство житєльство прокъ єму наука.
7. Наука прєблажєна—єю приходимъ въ страхъ божии.
8. Страхъ божии начало добородѣтєли—сим соорȣжаєтсѧ дȣша.

1. Soul is a separate substance whose constraint is religion.
2. Religion is guidance[41] established by a prophet.
3. Prophet is a leader authenticated by doing miracles.
4. Miracle-doing is a gift strenthened by wisdom.

5. Wisdom—its power is in a life of temperance.
6. Temperance is a way of life whose goal is knowledge.
7. Knowledge is most blessed—through it we attain the fear of God.
8. The fear of God is the beginning of virtue,[42] whereby is edified the soul.

We also propose a tentative retroversion into Hebrew of our reconstructed Slavic "Spiritual Circle,"[43] which will put into evidence the similarities between the two:

Worldly Circle	Spiritual Circle (retroversion)
1. העולם פרדסי משוכתו המלכות	1. הנפש עצם נפרד משוכתה הדת
2. המלכות שלטון תשגבנו הדת	2. הדת מצווה יכוננה הנביא
3. הדת מנהג ינהגנו המלך	3. הנביא רועה יאמתו הנס
4. המלך רועה יעודדנו החיל	4. הנס מתת תחזקנו החכמה
5. החיל חניכים יכלכלם הממון	5. החכמה כוחה בחיי פרישות
6. ההמון טרף יקבצנו ההמון	6. חיי פרישות תכליתם מדע
7. ההמון עבדים יעבידם הצדק	7. המדע מאושר בו נבוא ליראת ה׳
8. הצדק מאושר והיה תיקון העולם	8. יראת ה׳ ראשית צדקה בה תכון הנפש

Among the texts related to the Novgorod-Moscow heresy, the "Poem on the Soul" is the only "internal" text (to be distinguished from the "defamatory" or "calumniatory" texts originating with the detractors of the heresy, Gennadij and Iosif) to which the skeptic Lur'e (1960, 172) assigned great significance as a source for the interpretation of the ideology of the heretics, since at this time[44] he saw Kuricyn as its author (составитель). The proposed provenance of the "Poem" from the *Secret of Secrets*, while eliminating Fedor's authorship, does not necessarily, *pace* Lur'e (1984, 157ff), sever every possible affinity of Fedor to the text, e.g., as the person who ordered its translation. Such a link would validate Sobolevskij's characterization of the corpus of late 15th century Ruthenian translations from Hebrew as the "Literature of the Judaizers." This proposal of ours will, it is hoped, revitalize the direction of research marginalized by Lur'e's skepticism—the investigation of the translations, of their tendencies and aims, as well as that of the ideology which these translations assumedly were meant to convey to the Muscovite readership for which they were intended.

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NOTES

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2. Gaster's translation is erroneous. It should be: "conduct governed *by* the king." For other shortcomings of Gaster's edition see Spitzer 1982.

3. Wrong translation. Should be: "supported by the army."

4. Wrong translation, due to Gaster's misreading חניכים 'helpers' as תנינים 'dragons.'

5. Hebrew מאושר means indeed 'happy,' (beside 'affirmed') but it hardly corresponds to Arabic *ma'alûf* 'familiar, accustomed; usual, customary; custom, usage.'

6. On the history of the cyclical maxim in Arabic tradition see Steele (1920, lii–liv). See also Sadan 1987, for which reference I am indebted to Prof. Yosef Yahalom. I am also indebted to Prof. Ihor Ševčenko for pointing out to me an equivalent device in Greek rhetorics, under the name of κλῖμαξ 'ladder.'

   Steele (1920, liii) points out in fact that a Latin version of the maxim "occurs in the Placita Philosophorum of John of Procida. (1) 'Mundus iste est quidam ortus, et ejus fossata sunt regna. (2) Regna vero manutenentur per leges. (3) Leges statuit rex. (4) Rex vero per militiam suam tenetur. (5) Militia vero pecunia gubernatur. (6) Pecunia autem a populo colligitur. (7) Populus vero est justitia servus. (8) Justitia vero regitur mundus' Renzi *Collectio Salernitana, iii, 117*. It is noteworthy that the Placita Philosophorum is said to be translated from the Greek by John of Procida at Salerno, so that there may be a Byzantine origin for this diagram."

7. I give the text according to Speranskij (1908:,154) [= Bulanin 1984, 556], with variants from the two mss. at my disposal at present, BAN Q XVII 56 and BAN Arx. kom. 97. Speranskij's main text, based on ms. Vil. 222, is named V, and the two BAN mss.—Q and A.

8. A, Q: того ради

9. A: крȣга

10. A: житєиский свѣтъскїй ; Q: житєйскиї

11. Q: вторыи
12. A, Q: житєйский житиємъ
13. A. marginal gloss: всякій; Q: всıакой
14. V omits
15. A, Q: дабы^{х}
16. A, Q: токмо
17. A: тыя; A: тыє
18. A: дово^{л}но
19. A, Q: їмѣлъ
20. A: и^{з}вєсти
21. A, Q: житєйская
22. A: извєд'ши
23. A. marginal gloss: или
24. V: можєтъ
25. A. marginal gloss: ѕнамєниє; Q: плата, нита
26. A omits
27. Q: ихъ
28. The Latin version, which underwent serious editing by Roger Bacon in the second half of the thirteenth century, promises a "likeness *divided into two circles*" (Steele 1920, 125, emphasis added). This may refer to the fact that in many Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts we indeed find a circle within a circle, or a ring within a ring (see the illustrations below). The original reads:

    > "Et ego exemplificabo tibi formam laudabilem sapienciam philosophicam valde caram, que monstrabit tibi quicquid est in hominibus universaliter, que complectitur regnum subditorum et demonstrat gradus eorum, et qualitates et radices ejus, quod oportet habere de justicia in quolibet gradu. *Dividitur ergo in duas divisiones circulares spericas,* et in ea que continentur cum eis, et quelibet divisio est unus gradus. Incipe ergo a quavis divisione et dabit tibi illud quo nichil est preciosus, videlicet, circulum firmamenti cum aliis circulis celestibus et angelicis spiritibus qui sunt in celis. Et quando fuerunt ordinaciones sive regimina tam in inferioribus ad conservaciam tali modo in mundo. Et hec est utilitas hujus libri et hec est figura.

> *"De creacione primordialis materie*
> "Mundus est ortus seu viridarium, ejus materia (vel substancia vel sepes ejus) est judicium (scilicet Dei angelorum et hominum): Judicium est dominator vallatus (vel dominacio vallata) lege: Lex est qua rex regit regnum: Et rex est pastor qui defenditur a proceribus: Proceres sunt stipendiarii sustenati pecunia: Pecunia vero est fortuna que colligitur a subditis: Subditi autem sunt servi quos subjecit justicia: Justicia vero est que intenditur per se, in qua est salus subditorum."

The words *duas divisiones circulares spericas* are glossed by Bacon:

> "scilicet, celestes et elementares que sunt, circulares et sperice partes mundi que a Deo sunt ordinata justicia naturali. Et alia pars justicie est in rebus contentis in eis et precipue inter homines, et prosequitur de utraque parte justicie, naturali et legali sive morali et civili. Naturalis justicia refertur ad creacionem mundi et partium ejus. Civilis justicia refertur ad judicium Dei et angelorum de hominibus et ad hominum inter se."

Bacon thus, gives a somewhat different *text* of just one, "worldly" circle, but does not supply any figure. Nor is the figure to be found (cf. Steele 1920, 126) in any other Latin manuscript.

29. A, Q: знамєноваху.
30. V omits.
31. V: оумала.
32. Q: заповѣдь.
33. Q: ѿкроилъ.
34. A, Q: завѣщаю.
35. A. marginal gloss: увѣрили; Q: завѣщали.
36. A, Q: таинꙋ сию.
37. A. marginal gloss: лишеⁿ: Q: анаѳєма.
38. V: иного.
39. A, Q: сохрани
40. The position of Professor Ševčenko (see Taube 1995, 677n17) is that the text of the first line does not require emendation, since the combination ψυχὴ αὐτεξούσιος is well attested in Greek patristic tradition, and that the traditional reading дꙋша самовластна would point to Greek-Byzantine [Neo-Platonic-Christian] rather than to Semitic roots of at least the first line of the poem. My position is that we have here sufficiently compelling

arguments, based on the overall Jewish character of the text of the poem, as well as on the similar corruptions by Muscovite scribes of unfamiliar Ruthenian combinations, such as of самость дȣховную to самовласть дȣховную and of самость иную to самовластную in the *TT* (see Taube 1995, 676), to allow for the textual reconstruction proposed above and, indeed, to suggest it as the correct interpretation of the original text.

In this connection, note that the combination ψυχὴ αὐτεξούσιος is erroneously spelled θυχή αὐτεξοὐσιος in fn. 17 of Taube 1995. Other errata include: Arx. kon. 97 mistakenly for Arx. kom. 97 in fn. 11, p. 676 and on p. 679.

41. Or: 'instruction,' 'tradition.' For the range of meanings of наказание in Slavic see Istrin's Glossary to Hamartolos (1922–1930, 3: 261), where we find it rendering: διάταξις; νουθεσία; παιδεία; παίδευσις; παράδοσις; παραίνεσις; προτροπή; ὑποβολή; ὑποθήκη; ὑφήγησις.

42. A paraphrase of the biblical "The fear of God is the beginning of Wisdom," e.g., Proverbs 1:7, 9:10 and Psalms 110 (111):10. I am obliged to Professor Ševčenko for pointing out to me that this affinity is not so universally apparent as I had assumed.

43. The "Spiritual Circle," as said, has not been attested in Hebrew (or Arabic), so that it is not clear whether the translator of the Slavic *TT* had an actual Hebrew text of the "Poem" before him, or only a mental template based on the Hebrew "Wordly Circle."

44. See Taube (1995, 674n8) on Lur'e's ever-changing view about Fedor's link to this text, which ranged from authorship, through translation, to delivery or acquisition.

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BAN = Biblioteka Akademii nauk Rossijskoj Federacii

GIM = Gosudarstvennyj istoričeskij muzej (Moscow)

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vol. 15]

الأُصُول اليُونانِيَّة لِلنَظَرِيات السِيَاسِيَة في الاسْلام، الجُزْء الاوّل، حَقَقَهُ وقدّم لهُ عَبْد الرَحْمَن بَدَوي، القاهِرة ١٩٥٤، [دِراسة إسْلامية ١٥]

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Illustration 1. Gaster (1908, p. יב). Hebrew circle.

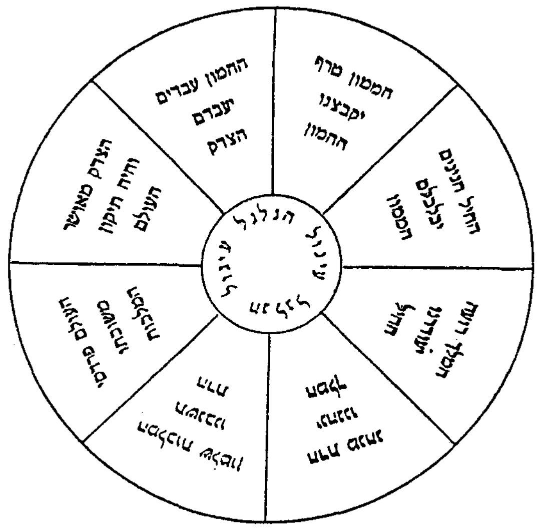


Illustration 2. Gaster (1908, p. 20). English translation.

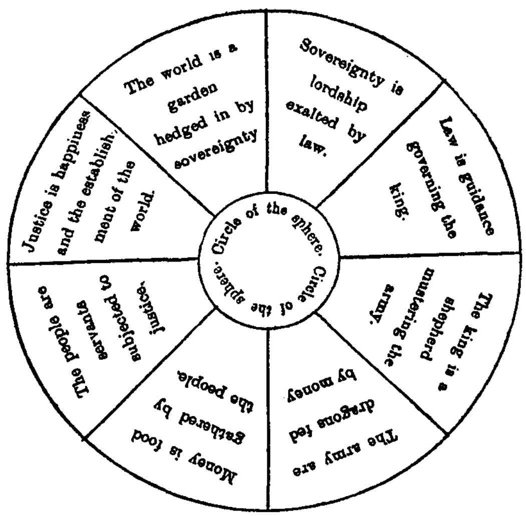


Illustration 3. Badawi (1954, p. ١٢٧) Arabic circle, with inner circle.

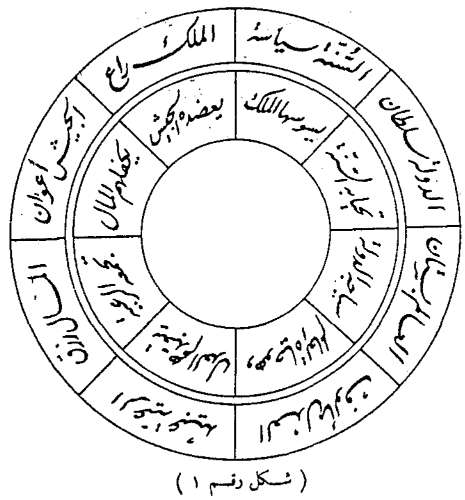
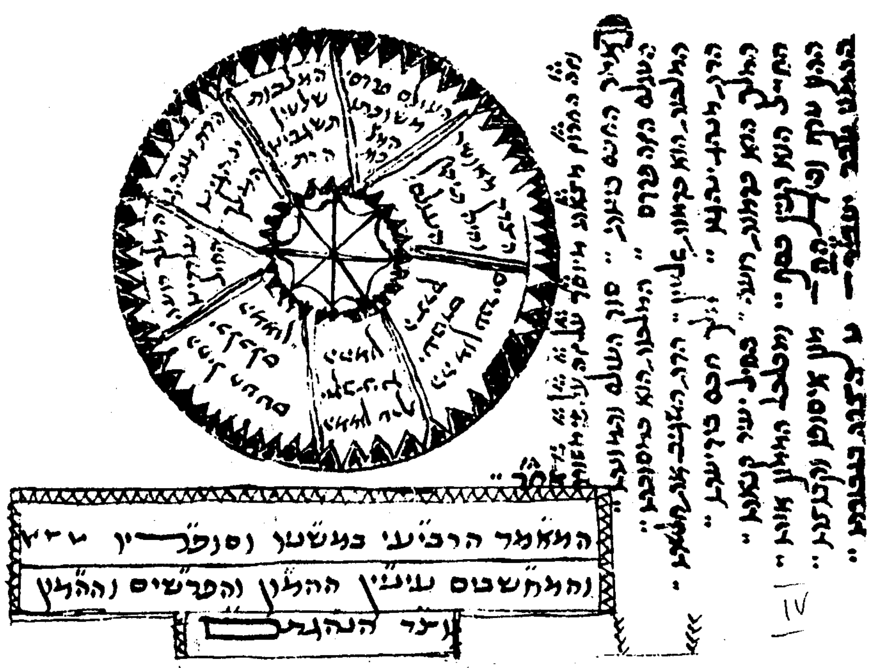


Illustration 4. Late 14th-century Hebrew manuscript (Vatican ebr. 435) with a poem in eight lines paraphrasing the circle by Emanuele Romano.



A Tribute to Mikhail Frenkin (1910–1986)

OLEKSANDR P. YURENKO

Mikhail Frenkin was an internationally known scholar whose contribution to the study of Ukraine's history and his attitude toward its people deserve the attention, recognition, and gratitude of his native country, where, unfortunately, even specialists barely know his name. It is the goal of this appreciation to introduce him to a wider circle of the Ukrainian public.

Mikhail Samoilovich Frenkin was born in Baku on 27 December 1910.[1] His father was employed in the oil fields. The family often lived in poverty, and Mikhail's father, who had a restless nature, changed its place of residence time and again.[2] In 1913 the Frenkins moved to Poland, where they lived until 1925.[3] Mikhail attended a Polish *gymnasium*, from which he emerged with an excellent knowledge of Polish and German language, history, and literature. He did not excel in the "hard sciences."

When he moved to Moscow, Frenkin, who was fanatically devoted to history, chose his future career without hesitation: he enrolled in the Historical Section of the Socio-Economic Department at the Alexander Herzen Teachers' College in Leningrad. Deprived of financial support, he worked first as a longshoreman, then, in 1929, taught at the Leningrad Oblasť Soviet and party school, and a year later also taught at the *Kommunisticheskaia pravda* evening classes for workers. After being graduated from the College, Frenkin was assigned to the Marchlewski workers' school in the Baranivka raion of the Kyiv (now Zhytomyr) Oblasť, where he was simultaneously an instructor and curriculum director. He also developed a remarkable interest in Ukrainian history and language. He soon mastered the latter and for the rest of his life freely spoke, read, and wrote Ukrainian.[4]

A year later the young teacher, who had attracted attention by his good knowledge of Polish and Ukrainian, was transferred to the Kyiv Institute of Social Education and appointed senior assistant in the Polish sector.[5] In 1933, however, his ties to Poland and the Polish-speaking world played an almost fatal role in his life. The Ukrainian GPU, which had concocted the case of the "Polish Military Organization"—a "counterrevolutionary nationalist anti-Soviet organization"—and then blown it up as much as possible, arrested the gifted Polonist for alleged membership in it.[6] The trumped up charge against Frenkin was hackneyed, being based on the fact that he had lived for a long time in Poland, even though that was in his childhood. Thus, Frenkin was made into a Polish spy and counterrevolutionary to please the Moloch of totalitarianism and the inhuman ambitions of the GPU leaders.

Harvard Ukrainian Studies 18(3/4) December 1994: 356–76.

The year that Frenkin spent at the Luk'ianivka Prison in Kyiv and in the Kholodna hora Prison in Kharkiv was a severe trial for him and the cruel reality of Stalinism that he had there and elsewhere in Ukraine was permanently etched in his mind. He had observed the spontaneous resistance of the peasants to collectivization in the Zhytomyr region.[7] Emma Frenkin, the scholar's wife, mentions that decades later "he talked . . . about the famine that reigned in Ukraine, about corpses of people who had died of hunger and collapsed in the street, about the deportation of kulaks, about the destruction of religious shrines."[8] Frenkin himself mentioned that he "witnessed the growing stream of peasant victims of Stalinist repressions in August 1932 and later." [9] None of this boded well for him in prison. But a year after he was arrested, in May 1934, he was released and the case against him was dropped.[10] The release was unexpected for Frenkin, and as his wife writes, for the rest of his life "he could not explain why he was released then."[11] Such incidents were infrequent.

After his release Frenkin went back to Moscow and in September 1934 started graduate studies in the Department of Soviet History at the Moscow Historical-Archival Institute. He was described in his documents as "an excellent student." The young scholar himself chose the subject of his *kandidat* dissertation: "The Don Cossacks in the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century." "The years that Mikhail Samoilovich spent at the Institute before his fall were a period of rapid growth for him as a historian," Emma Frenkin observes. "He was well received at the home of Professor Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e, and a certain Professor B. Tikhomirov (who died in the labor camps) was attentive to him. He traveled by foot the length of the Georgian Military Highway and visited Cossack settlements in his search for documentation about their life. In one *stanitsa* where he was searching for historical material in an attic, he was bitten by a rat and had to seek medical treatment. He was young, full of strength, energy, and healthy pride . . . He began learning French (at that time English wasn't rated very highly yet). He was, as they say, forging ahead."[12]

Speaking as the official opponent at Frenkin's defense of his dissertation on 13 November 1938, Professor Got'e stressed that it "considerably exceeds the demands made of dissertations for the degree of *kandidat* in history."[13] After his brilliant defense Frenkin was appointed senior lecturer in the Department of Sources for Soviet History at the Moscow Historical-Archival Institute. He chose this field because of its complexity. Simultaneously he was the executive secretary of *Arkhivnoe delo,* the journal of the Central Archival Administration of the USSR. The young scholar's success was also made evident by the publication of his monograph, which was rich in historical and regional material.[14] But immediately after its publication the NKVD ordered the book confiscated and destroyed.[15]

Frenkin's scholarly plans were ruined for decades by the stark reality of Bolshevik-Stalinist rule: on 3 April 1939 Frenkin was arrested again.[16] In 1938, having survived the first wave of repressions, the Soviet archival system, with which Frenkin was intimately involved in the 1930s, was preparing to be

transferred to the NKVD. The political, rather than administrative, nature of this decision by Soviet leaders is obvious and requires no comment—NKVD chief Lavrentii Beria had said, "Without archives there is no history; without history there is no scholarship; without scholarship there is no progress." The establishment of ruthless total control over the archives and the transformation of them into an instrument of Stalinism, according to the logic of the system, was to be accompanied by permanent reviews of the archival cadres and repressive measures against anyone suspected of unreliability, which was the core of the Bolshevik regime's "educational work." The subordination of the archival system to Beria's department gave him an excellent technical opportunity. Special commissions were set up to review the archives and prepare them for transfer to the NKVD system. On 19 December 1938 Colonel Davydov, the head of the Central Commission for Review of Archival Institutions, reported to Beria that he had finished his job and had found sixty-six archival employees who, in his opinion, were unsuited for further work in the system. They then became candidates for arrest.[17] On 15 January 1939 a specially appointed NKVD commission that was comprised of security service captains Petrov, Nikitinskii, and Belov submitted to their commissar for his approval a document about the transfer of Soviet archives to his commissariat. The document also recommended arresting one person and expressed non-confidence in another 140. The NKVD chief placed a resolution on the list: "Appoint a special group of investigators." In addition, he personally marked the names of thirteen persons who were to be arrested. This provided the impetus for a new wave of repressions against archivists. One of the victims of Beria's action was Frenkin.[18] He had attracted the NKVD's attention because he had been involved in the case of the Polish Military Organization. The material from 1933 was used to charge him once again with belonging to the organization and conducting anti-Soviet agitation.[19]

Frenkin passed through the Lubianka and Lefortovo prisons. One of the NKVD agents who handled his case was named B. Rodos—he sadistically mocked his victim and literally beat a confession out of him. The judgment issued by the Special Council of the NKVD on 17 October 1939 was fairly standard: to begin with, five years of imprisonment in labor camps. Frenkin was then shipped to the Kraslag camps in the Krasnoiarsk *krai*.[20]

In response to my request for details of this sad period in Frenkin's life, Emma Frenkin replied:

> I am afraid that I cannot add anything to what has been written about prisons and camps: saying good-bye to your mother through two fences between which a guard is walking, the sense of hopelessness, of being driven into a corner. Then there's the heavy labor: wood cutting, timber rafting (he fell into the river once), hunger, cold, bare plank beds. He swelled up from hunger. And once he swelled up with bee stings because he and his fellow inmates stumbled across a bee hive and ate the honey. The common criminals "liked" him. They called him "teacher" and listened to his stories, which didn't keep

> them from taking away his tobacco and then rewarding him with the butts. As the authorities said, "This is not a university." For a time he was in charge of an ice road. Once he was pursued by wolves. It was a good thing that he was close to a habitation and had matches and newspapers. Thus he managed to return. He mentioned Kansk, Kniazh Pogost, Norilsk, and Ukhta.[21]

Prisoners were not allowed to work at their professions, even teaching the children of the staff. In addition to his term of imprisonment Frenkin had to serve a considerable term of exile, for which he was left at the camp as a civilian laborer. But despite the restrictions on travel, he occasionally managed to see his family in secret and even visited the capital. Once, when he became ill while staying with his sister in Moscow, someone reported him to the police and he barely managed to escape. And when a new wave of arrests began in 1948, as his wife mentions, "he ran around the country like a rabbit. It was a good thing that there were good and brave people who agreed to put him up."[22] Finally, on 18 July 1957, thanks to the efforts of Frenkin's sister, the military tribunal of the Moscow Military District reviewed his case and dropped the charges for lack of evidence; he was rehabilitated.[23] Frenkin summed up this stage of his life: "In all, prisons, camps, and exile took away eighteen of the best years of my life."[24]

The former exile was not immediately able to return to Moscow: he lacked both a place to live and a residence permit. With the help of a friend he settled for a time in Chernivtsi and got a job as a research assistant at the museum of regional studies. Later he headed its historical department. In Chernivtsi Frenkin renewed his scholarly work and collected material for a monograph about the revolutionary movement on the Romanian Front. This required frequent trips to archives and great expenditures of energy, time, and money. Despite these difficulties and the fact that he could often work on the assembled material only at night and sometimes with friends who gave him a corner of his own, during his four years at the museum he managed to complete the draft of this thorough monograph. It was published in 1965.[25]

Frenkin obviously could not step outside the circle of the political and ideological dogmas set up by Soviet historiography. It is clear that he understood that in the oppressive atmosphere of totalitarian Soviet society, modified though it was by the Khrushchev thaw, his book would have to be the decisive argument in his second rehabilitation, this time as a scholar. There is thus nothing remarkable about Frenkin's concentration on the Bolshevization of the Eighth Army and on the search for proof that this was a positive process. After all, the chief criterion for the publication of any historical study was its conformity to party demands: the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, class irreconcilability, and intolerance toward anyone who took another position. In this context we can understand why Frenkin negated non-Bolshevik forces: the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, and the Ukrainian movement. "The declaration by the Central Rada that the Southwestern and Rumanian fronts were a single Ukrainian front commanded by Shcherbachev and its subordina-

tion to the General Secretariat, as well as the stepped-up pace of Ukrainianization, were all part of a plan by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and the reactionary Russian command aimed at disorganizing the single front of revolutionary soldiers and preventing the implementation of the decrees of October in Ukraine. This plan by the Rada was appropriately characterized by the Bolsheviks," is a typical conclusion for this and other works by Frenkin in the 1960s and early 1970s.[26]

But at the same time Frenkin's writings in this period and especially his monograph accumulated, systematized, and generalized rich factual material obtained from objective sources, especially archival documents and newspapers from 1917–1918. For this reason they are still far more than historiographic facts. It is not surprising that thoughtful foreign researchers drew attention to the political circumstances in which Frenkin was forced to work but noted that his writings were significantly superior to most stereotyped Soviet works about the revolution.[27]

Allan Wildman, an American historian of Russia who met and became friends with Frenkin in Moscow in 1970, observed that his book *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie na rumynskom fronte, 1917 g.–mart 1918 g.* was "the best Soviet study to that date of the Russian army during the Revolution . . . One sensed behind the facade a serious scholar whose knowledge and devotion to history went far beyond the limits for Soviet investigations."[28] Wildman also cited Frenkin's frank admission, made during one of their first meetings in 1970, which removes all doubt about what determined the political aspect of his writings: his own convictions or external constraints. "'They made me take out all the good things and distorted the rest.' Chapters on Ukrainian, Jewish, and other national soldiers' organizations remained in the 'bottom drawer.'"[29]

Frenkin managed to return to Moscow in the fall of 1961. That same year an event took place that had great significance for his scholarly work and the publication of his most valuable books: he married Emma Frenkin, a doctor, who became his faithful assistant and co-worker in his research and, especially, in its preparation for publication. In the capital, Frenkin was not immediately able to return to his profession. He taught Polish at the Novosti Press Agency and went back to the Historical-Archival Institute only a year later. In August 1962 he was appointed senior lecturer in the Department of Auxiliary Historical Disciplines and shortly thereafter transferred to the Department of Soviet History. The return was not easy. His superiors and colleagues greeted him cautiously and unenthusiastically: they thought that he had become disqualified as a scholar. More importantly, he was an ex-convict and a Jew who had never belonged to the party or the Komsomol.[30] But thanks to his intellectual abilities and his ceaseless work Frenkin rose to the rank of professor.

While admitting the recent exile to the job, the rector said in jest, "You have little soldiers marching in your briefcase." In fact, Frenkin was devoting all his spare time to his work on the Russian army in 1917–1918. In April 1968 he

successfully defended a doctoral dissertation on the involvement of the soldiers of the Fourth, Sixth, and Ninth armies of the Romanian Front in the revolutionary movement of 1917–1918. This study is impresive both in its length (1,099 typescript pages) and by the thoroughness of its sources. As in the monograph with the similar title, Frenkin used in his dissertation materials that he had discovered in dozens of fonds at the Central Military History Archives, the Central Archives of the October Revolution of the USSR, the Central Archives of the Soviet Army, the Central State Historical Archives of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv, a number of oblast' archives in the Russian Federation and Ukraine, and extensive literature published abroad.

But Frenkin strove to realize to the maximum his abilities and plans, which did not fit the Procrustean bed of Soviet historiography. This, along with the call of national consciousness and other circumstances in his life, became the decisive factor in his emigration to Israel in March 1974. He and his wife settled in Jerusalem, where he was appointed research professor in the Department of Soviet Studies at Jerusalem University. "This was probably the fulfillment of his desires because Mikhail Samoilovich could now devote himself wholly to scholarly research. However, he was somewhat disappointed because he was not given students. He very much wanted to have students," Emma Frenkin recalls.[31]

Frenkin found it difficult to live and work in the new environment. His good friend Allan Wildman drew attention to the unfavorable conditions in which Frenkin found himself in both countries and to "the exceedingly difficult conditions of a new environment and culture."[32] His age, his broken health, and his unfamiliarity with the language all made themselves felt. Still, he was filled with courage, determination, and dedication and there was no week in which he did not pursue his fundamental study of the Russian army during the revolution.

Although Frenkin's manuscripts were confiscated when he was leaving the Soviet Union, he managed to bring out numerous notes from the documents and copies, a result of his determined and difficult work over many years in the archives.[33] Western scholars could not even dream of such a scholarly basis. But, possessed by his scholarly determination, the now aged scholar continued his research in European libraries and archives. In 1976 he worked at the rich library of the University of Paris in Nanterre, the Staatsbibliothek and Kriegsarchiv in Munich, and the Kriegsarchiv in Vienna. He used the material he found there in his new book, *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia*, which was published in 1978. Frenkin very much wanted it to appear in 1977, on the eve of the sixtieth anniversary of the revolution, but the publication was delayed by financial obstacles. In addition, it became clear that Frenkin differed with many people in Israel and in the West as a whole in his political and historical evaluation of the revolution, Bolshevism, and Soviet reality. A lecturer at Jerusalem University stated that if the book emerged from the Department, its members would not be admitted to Soviet archives, although at that time no one had any intention of admitting scholars from Israel.[34]

In Frenkin's own words, it was his aim in this fundamental investigation (780 pages) "to show the decisive role of the Russian army in carrying out the Great February Revolution and the Bolshevik mutiny in 1917 and to illuminate to the best of my ability the consequences of the revolution in the active units to . . . show why it was impossible to continue waging war with the peasant masses of the country as a whole and to study the collapse and disintegration of the army during the revolution at the fronts, each of which had its specificity."[35] Frenkin carried out this extraordinarily difficult task by recreating on a large scale the colossal historical panorama both at the front and throughout the vast empire and by investigating the socioeconomic, political, and military processes in the macrosociety.

It is characteristic that one of the main goals that Frenkin set himself was to study national movements in the Russian army, which became an unusually serious factor during the revolution.[36] Wildman was right to observe that Frenkin's development of this line of investigation was the most valuable contribution in his monograph.[37] Of the various national movements in the army and throughout tsarist Russia Frenkin paid most attention to the Ukrainian movement. Maintaining an objective presentation of events and their causes and consequences, he still sided with the Ukrainian cause and stressed that Ukrainian demands and aspirations toward independence were just.[38] Having thought profoundly about the historical and political context of the Ukrainian question, Frenkin concluded that the absence of a Ukrainian national army in 1917 had "countless tragic consequences both for the fate of the Ukrainian revolution and for the defeat of Russian revolutionary democracy on the Southwestern and Rumanian fronts and in wide rear areas in the struggle with the Bolsheviks during the October upheaval."[39]

Frenkin thoroughly analyzed the factors that led to such tragic consequences, exposing the hostile and insincere policy of the Provisional Government toward the Central Rada and the fact that the Provisional Government in practice sabotaged the Ukrainianization of the army, even though it had concluded an agreement on Ukrainianization with the Central Rada.[40] Frenkin also convincingly showed that "the Ukrainian national movement encountered difficulties not only at the front. It was opposed, no matter how paradoxical this may seem, by Russian political parties ranging from the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries to the Constitutional Democrats and the Bolsheviks, who differed only in their phraseology."[41]

Frenkin paid particular attention to the Bolsheviks' Ukrainian policy. He explicated the general and specific historical circumstances of the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine and the war against the Ukrainian National Republic. Analyzing the source base, from Lenin's notorious manifesto with its ultimatums to the Ukrainian Central Rada to orders to military units and soldiers' letters, Frenkin offered irrefutable proof of the Bolsheviks' insidious tactics toward Ukraine and the Ukrainian movement and the brutal intervention in the Ukrainian National Republic's internal affairs.[42]

An analysis of the causes of the Ukrainian defeat and the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic followed as a matter of course. Frenkin pointed out that they were rooted primarily not in military policies, but in the inept socio-economic policies of the Central Rada and the Ukrainian parties. "The relatively easy military victory by the Bolsheviks over the Central Rada was based not on the strength of their bayonets, but on a change in the mood of the Ukrainian peasant soldier, who threw himself headlong into agrarian pogroms and who had no time to support the Central Rada when the agrarian question was being settled in the villages by way of accomplished fact," he stated.[43] The theme of cardinal questions in Ukrainian history is woven into the broad historical and political context in Frenkin's monograph and is powerfully, vividly, and, what is most important, objectively treated in Frenkin's monograph, as well as in his two subsequent major historical investigations.

It should be added that in Frenkin's scholarly works history is not faceless, but is filled with people, who are characterized not simply by their functions but by their lively and often contradictory personalities. The indexes to his last three monographs contain several hundred names, and *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia* has close to six hundred. But Frenkin did not conceal his attitude toward these people, his own sympathies and antipathies, behind a facade of objectivism. Although he supported the democratic ideas of the February Revolution, he sharply criticized Russian liberal and socialist parties for failing to carry out the justified demands of the peasant and soldier masses to end the war and to resolve the agrarian question. In the West he was reproached for this sharpness, which was seen as emotional and subjective. "The Western reader cannot but smile reading about 'The Great February Revolution' and the 'October mutiny.' Frenkin has not lost the disconcerting Soviet habit of scoring points not by argument, but by the choice of adverbs," Peter Kenez observed in a review of his book about the Russian army. "Whenever Lenin says something, he always says it 'demagogically'; whenever the Bolsheviks make their desire to take power clear, they do so 'cynically'; and when they deny it, they do it 'hypocritically.'"[44] Even Wildman charged Frenkin with an excessive negation of Bolshevism: "The Bolsheviks were, after all, pursuing ideologically motivated goals which sufficiently explain their behavior without ascribing to them collective or individual Machiavellianism."[45]

Frenkin's position, as I have noted, displeased his colleagues. At times they were personally hostile to him. "I couldn't receive or visit one family here [in Israel] because our dear husbands quarrelled over the definition of the October [1917] events," Emma Frenkin relates. "Mikhail Samoilovich was brave and had a sharp tongue, especially where his profession was concerned. I've already written that he found himself in a vacuum here [in Israel] because of his views." [46] On 23 May 1992 the historian's wife wrote to me: "I recently encountered a former colleague of M. S. [Mikhail Samuilovich]. In reference to the latest events in the Soviet Union he said that Professor Frenkin had been proved right. I thought to myself: what a scholar he is if he can't see beyond his nose and subordinates his thinking to the generally accepted routine."[47]

For all the ambiguity in the attitude that Frenkin's listeners and readers have taken to him, it should be stressed that in the West serious familiarity with his works elicited respect if not enthusiasm even from his opponents. Peter Kenez, who made critical observations about *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia*, nevertheless recognized it as "a book of extraordinary importance." He noted that Frenkin's extensive research made his work unique and that it had an "exceptionally broad scope." "Telling the story of the disintegration of the Army, [Frenkin] tells the story of the Revolution."[48] Frenkin's friend Wildman dedicated to him his monumental work, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army*, and added a note to it: "On behalf of the entire scholarly community I want to pay tribute to the Soviet émigré scholar Professor M. S. Frenkin . . . whose courage and extraordinary energy have rewarded us with two monumental works."[49] The first of the two works singled out by Wildman was *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia*; the second was *Zakhvat vlasti bol'shevikami v Rossii i rol' tylovykh garnizonov armii*.[50]

In its themes, contents, and sources the latter book organically supplemented the former, which, for all its variety, concentrated on the frontline units. In his introduction to the new book Frenkin said quite reasonably: "If the front and especially the rear garrisons are not taken into account the preparation for and carrying-out of the reactionary Bolshevik mutiny and its victory, which had tragic consequences both for the country and for all humanity, cannot be comprehended."[51]

Once again Frenkin managed to expand the sources for his study. This applies to the documents he studied at the Kriegsarchiv and the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, and at the German archives, especially the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amtes in Bonn. He paid great attention to the liberation movements (in his opinion, progressive) of the nationalities in the Russian empire: the Belarusians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Finns, Jews, and Muslim peoples. But Frenkin gave the Ukrainian movement a particularly important position: "Following a cliché handed down from above, Soviet historians offer a mendacious interpretation and distort the question of the national-liberation movement in 1917–1918, especially the Ukrainian one," he emphasized in justification of his studies.[52] Looking at the Ukrainian movement during this period from the point of view of principles, Frenkin also introduced many valuable details and shifted the traditional questions to a new plane. He argued persuasively that the Ukrainian movement was an obstacle to Bolshevik expansion both in Ukraine and in Russia proper, where it swept through many units in the army and navy. Hence the repressive measures against Ukrainian organizations in the army that the Bolsheviks took after they seized power. "Lenin, who in June [1917] had demagogically attacked Kerenskii for his declaration that a second Ukrainian military congress was untimely . . . now was not ashamed to issue an order to disperse the Ukrainian Military Congress of the Northern Front. In Pskov on 1 December 500 delegates who represented more than 130,000 Ukrainian soldiers at the front were

dispersed by 'armed force.'"[53] Frenkin supported all his conclusions, each of which was large-scale, with extremely valuable arguments and facts.

Frenkin did not ignore Jewish history in this period. Drawing on the arguments just mentioned, drew strong conclusions about the Jewish movement and its place in the revolution, showed its contradictions, lack of unity, widespread political immaturity, and the sad consequences for the Jewish people, especially its most oppressed sector. Demonstrating that the highest values for him were truth and justice, he concluded: "The Jewish masses were kept from understanding the Ukrainian movement and even their own by the fact that an ideology of centralism and Russification inculcated for decades was dominant within both the Russian and Jewish minorities in Ukraine. The logic of a diaspora inexorably made Jews become patriots of the dominant nation. Ukrainian and Russian Jewry involuntarily acted as a leader of Russifying centralism and became the object of dissatisfaction on the part of Ukrainians and other peoples."[54]

Frenkin's thesis was harmonious with the thoughts of Solomon Gol'del'man, a prominent student of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during one of their most productive and simultaneously most tragic periods. Gol'del'man frequently made the same point in his own books, which are important both as historical studies and as primary sources because he was an eyewitness and a participant in those events. This was not unnoticed by individual scholars, but had practically no effect on the widespread view of Ukrainians as immanent anti-Semites.[55]

As for the analysis of the Ukrainian-Jewish conflict during the revolution, a further conclusion suggests itself: those researchers from both sides who tried to carry out this analysis objectively, no matter how difficult this may have been for one reason or another, always shifted their views to the social field because that is where the causes of the antagonism were rooted. This applies to Frenkin as well. This was obviously only a small part and not the chief object of his scholarly aspirations, but he nonetheless offered his arguments on behalf of such an approach. Frenkin's theses in this area follow the conclusions reached by a prominent Ukrainian scholar, Mykyta Shapoval, more than fifty years earlier. Shapoval was an important politician during the revolutionary period of 1917–1919, a leader of the Ukrainian political emigration, and a founder of Ukrainian sociology. On Ukrainian-Jewish relations, he said, "[Ukrainian-Jewish relations] have long manifested themselves in the ugly shapes of Ukrainian anti-Semitism and Jewish Ukrainophobia," and he concluded that the main cause was not racial, religious, or purely ethnic antagonism, but rather social and especially class antagonism that broke out during political storms in Ukraine as a cruel and bloody reaction of Ukrainians against Jews.[56] At the same time Frenkin pointed out that although Jews were prominent in revolutionary Russian parties, they were not dominant in the way that Russian reactionaries argued: "The speculative claim by reactionaries about Jewish predominance among the Bolsheviks is . . . fraudulent."[57]

An exceedingly important feature, one that goes beyond the academic framework, is the convincing proof that Lenin conspired with German military and political circles to ensure the defeat of Russia in World War I. "In the light of irrefutable documents from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Bolshevik party headed by V. Lenin was a party of national treason, which implemented the directives of the German General Staff to smash the Russian army, as well as the people as a whole, and which received multi-million financial subsidies to achieve this goal," Frenkin stressed.[58] His research casts an entirely different light from that of traditional Soviet historiography on such Bolshevik policies as fraternization with the Germans at the front and Lenin's efforts to conclude peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Simultaneously the greatest myth of the twentieth century, the historical role of communism, grows pale. Frenkin's polemics on this point with Boris Souvarine, who offered apologetics for the Bolshevik leader, are important in this regard.[59]

Although Frenkin found it difficult to publish his scholarly works in Israel, not to mention their outright suppression in the Soviet Union, he began to win international recognition during his lifetime. In 1980 he was invited to attend the Second World Congress of Soviet Studies in Garmisch near Munich.[60] He presented there a paper, "The Soldiers and Officers of the Russian Army during the February Revolution and the October Mutiny." It made a particular impression on scholars from the Ukrainian and Polish diasporas because of its scholarly profundity and solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the Russian and Soviet empire. They were also pleased to hear Frenkin speak to them in their own languages. As Emma Frenkin testifies, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta gave him a grant for a book about the Ukrainian movement during the revolution, and Poles offered help in publishing it.[61] Frenkin's publications in the leading Ukrainian émigré journal *Suchasnist'* can be seen as an approach to the realization of this project.[62]

It is characteristic that Frenkin attributed great significance to Ukrainian-Jewish relations and examined both their historical and their political aspects. "The problem of the rebirth of a genuine (and not imaginary, as in the USSR) Ukrainian statehood, as it existed in 1917, is still urgent and painful," he stressed, adding that this was hindered not only by apologians of Leninism, but also by the sizeable anti-communist emigration.[63] He exposed the chauvinist views and actions of such activists as Piotr Struve, N. Ul'ianov, and Aleksandr Zinov'ev. "Unfortunately, numerous Russian writers and even A. Solzhenitsyn hold such anti-scholarly or even simply mendacious views," he emphasized.[64] He criticized even such dissidents as Andrei Amal'rik, Vladimir Bukovskii, Aleksandr Galich, and Viktor Nekrasov, who had progressive views on the self-determination of the Ukrainian people, for their proposal to carry out a referendum on independence while the USSR still existed.[65] The validity of this criticism was confirmed by the March 1991 referendum.

Frenkin believed that no concessions would appease the totalitarian regime in the USSR, which he saw as the main threat to the civilized world in the

postwar period. Thus, he attacked attempts to play up to this regime.[66] He also unmasked the tactics of "quiet diplomacy," the political loyalty to the Soviet empire that existed in certain circles in his country, and sharply criticized Yad Vashem for its silence about crimes against Jews in the USSR. Frenkin said, without observing political nicety:

> In his article "Is a Committee of Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation Necessary?" S. Spector, an associate of Yad Vashem, made every effort to prove that such a committee was unnecessary and even harmful and that support for Ukrainian organizations that are fighting against the Kremlin is "not our cause." In fact, Spector is aiding the Soviet totalitarians by advocating the isolation of the various national movements from each other in order to alienate the peoples that are suffering from communism. Spector and the circles whose views he is expressing are furthering isolationist and pro-Soviet tendencies in Israeli politics.[67]

Frenkin condemned the theory of collective Ukrainian responsibility for crimes against Jews, which still exists in Jewish circles.[68] That theory, as we know, continues to be the greatest stumbling block in Ukrainian-Jewish relations. This was made manifest even at joint Ukrainian-Jewish scholarly symposia. The conference at MacMaster University in Hamilton, Canada, in 1983 was a case in point. The two sides, a reviewer of the proceedings noted, advanced "two different views, two different argumentations, which show that the differences are still too great to expect a quick solution to this complicated question."[69] Frenkin's position in this respect was close to that of Professor Roman Serbyn from Montreal: "The concept of collective responsibility is a political and not a scholarly category. No serious scholar, and certainly no average honest person who has even a crumb of human dignity, can approve of such a false basis for social life."[70]

At the same time Frenkin condemned the permanent manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Ukrainian environment and frankly pointed them out to the Ukrainian public. In doing so he did not hesitate to name those who were nourishing them without regard for their fame or popularity, as in the case of the human-rights activist Valentyn Moroz.[71] He also noted that the objective and subjective Jew-hatred of these spokesmen was compromising the Ukrainian movement and "helping the KGB."

As for hostility between Ukrainians and Jews, Frenkin considered it to be a rudiment of the past that "has now completely lost its political and economic sense."[72] "Such categories as lessees and usurers, which were imposed on Jews by history, have disappeared. There is a working-class Jewry in Ukraine today, and the role of frenzied exploiters of the masses in Taras Shevchenko's land has been assumed by Moscow communists, who are holding Ukraine's entire economy in their hands and who are carrying out national oppression and exploitation in the country," Frenkin said in one of his last public speeches. At the same time he stressed that the friendship of the two peoples is a historical necessity.[73] It should be noted that Frenkin was not a pioneer on the road to

Jewish-Ukrainian understanding when he spoke so courageously in the very heart of the Jewish world. His tradition was started in the first decade of this century by the prominent Zionist spokesman Vladimir Zhabotinskii. Arguing for a separate national position for Jews, Zhabotinskii thought that cooperation between the Jewish and Ukrainian national-liberation movements was essential. "This view was finally recognized and accepted a little later by the majority of Jewish political forces in Ukraine, which supported the Ukrainian national government during the revolution and Civil War of 1917–1920," Izraïl' Kleiner observed.[74] Frenkin thus helped develop and strengthen this cooperation with both his scholarly and his public work, continuing the efforts of such Jewish activists as Solomon Gol'del'man and Arnol'd Margolin. His contemporaries and adherents were Kleiner, Iakiv Suslens'kyi, and Iur'ie Vol'f. Frenkin was one of the first to join the Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Israel and was a member of its executive board.[75] On the other hand, a movement that realized that Ukraine could not be free and independent without reaching friendship and understanding with the Jews had long been laying the way for itself among Ukrainians. Mykyta Shapoval, one of the most prominent spokesmen of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the twentieth century, wrote in the 1920s in "Ievreistvo i ukraïns'ka derzhavnist'" [Jewishness and Ukrainian Statehood]:

> If Jews want to pave the road for their freedom, they will go forward with us in creating for themselves the atmosphere that is called "just like home."
>
> Then the Dnieper will speak to Jews in Yiddish as it speaks to us in Ukrainian. This will not hinder anyone in the least bit. This is why on the first day of their freedom Ukrainians proclaimed freedom for their enemies in order to make them into friends.[76]

Frenkin worked with the Society's journal *Diialohy* as both author and member of the editorial board.[77] The Society's work was never crowned with laurels and continually encountered condemnation and hindrances and caused its members a good deal of unpleasantness, which unfortunately marred Frenkin's last days. In late 1985, George Dyba, a Ukrainian from Vancouver, funded the erection of a monument to Ukrainian victims of Bolshevism and Nazism on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. The monument was placed in a prominent place, near the Holocaust Museum and outside the gate to the grave of King David.[78] Frenkin took part in the unveiling. Together with Dyba, the prominent human-rights activist Leonid Pliushch, and Halyna Mel'nychuk, who has been recognized in Israel as one of the righteous of the world, he placed a wreath at the monument.[79] Then his prophetic words echoed over the gathering: "Jews waited more than two thousand years for the rebirth of their national state, but you Ukrainians, because of the ever growing crisis of Soviet autocracy, will not have to wait so long. We wish the Ukrainian people the immediate creation of a free, independent, democratic Ukraine!" Frenkin called on Ukrainians to count primarily on their own forces. "In order for

Konotop [Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyi's rout of the Muscovite army in 1659] to be repeated, unity in the Ukrainian camp is required," he said.[80] But the monument was soon destroyed. "We have vandals too," Emma Frenkin stated. "Even the fact they were concentration-camp inmates does not excuse them." [81]

In the early 1980s Frenkin established relations with scholars at the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University. In 1984 he managed to visit the United States. There, too, he worked intensively, familiarizing himself with scholarly literature and memoirs and searching for documents by eyewitnesses to the fateful events that had held a magical attraction for him over the decades. Now seriously ill, Frenkin brought back from America countless photocopied books and periodicals. He refused to bow to illness. A man of great knowledge and intellect, he had many plans for the future, although he understood that he would not be able to complete them. "He was feisty and energetic until the very end, and I sincerely believe he was ready for another scholarly lifetime," Wildman observed.[82]

Frenkin devoted his remaining energy and time to still another monograph, monumental not so much in length (251 pages) as in profundity and scope: *Tragediia krest'ianskikh vosstanii v Rossii 1918–1921 gg.*[83] He analyzed the preconditions for such extreme manifestations of the peasant movement as uprisings throughout the tsarist empire from Siberia to Tavria. These preconditions included many factors—from the predatory nature of the 1861 reforms to the requisitioning of farm produce in the early 1920s. The extensive sources made the book consistent and specific in its exposition. At the same time it revealed new pages of bitter historical truth. From Lev Trotskii's personal archives Frenkin brought into daylight ominous verdicts by the Leninist Politbureau and other surprising testimony. Frenkin's last great study is characterized by a high degree of information and personification and by the grounding of its conclusions. The tapestry of the unprecedented historical tragedy that he wove is made up of facts and not picturesque phrases. His writings frequently leave the reader with painful feelings, but they always demand reflection. Such, for example, is the panorama of the notorious *Antonovshchina,* the colossal uprising by the peasants of the Tambov region in 1921, and of the Kronstadt rebellion, which is no less known but was equally distorted by Soviet historiography.[84] As for the latter, mercilessly striking at the new historical myth, Frenkin noted:

> Those 279 delegates to the Tenth Congress of the RKP(b) who were sent to Kronstadt as political drivers and supervisors of the troops that were pitilessly sent to storm the fortress, particularly P. Dybenko, A. Bubnov, V. Putna, I. Fed'ko, V. Zatonskii, and others, did not realize then that they were participating in the creation of the Soviet totalitarian system in whose blast furnace they themselves would be consumed.[85]

Chapter 7, one of the largest in the book, deals with the Ukrainian peasants. "The peasant nature of the Ukrainian revolution is beyond doubt. All the *otaman* detachments were recruited from the peasants, as a result of which the

characteristic features of peasant struggle—its vacillations, localized actions, political zigzags, contradictory views, and often even forgetting of national interests—were all reflected as in a focus in the *otaman* movement," Frenkin says in describing the essential features of peasant uprisings in Ukraine in 1918–1922.

The tragedy of the Ukrainian peasants, who lost the remnants of their land and freedom at this time, was in Frenkin's opinion the tragedy of the entire Ukrainian revolution. Although the anti-Bolshevik peasant movement in Ukraine was the main obstacle to communist expansion, unlike the russified cities, it was the social and national alienation between city and village as well as the peasant movement's lack of organized political leadership that defeated both it and the Ukrainian revolution.[86] The excessive preponderance of social over national issues in the Ukrainian peasant's thinking was also tragic for the Ukrainian revolution. It is important that Frenkin refuted the assertion that peasant uprisings in Ukraine had a kulak nature, which was exploited for many decades by Soviet propaganda and scholarship for political speculation.[87]

For all the troubles he had seen Frenkin remained an optimist and believed in the triumph of justice. He longed to see even the most tragic historical experience analyzed and used for the progress of civilization. And he always tried to show the causal links between the past and the present, especially when solutions to burning issues were required. Thus in summing up peasant resistance to communist servitude, he concluded: "There can be no question of a genuine improvement in agriculture until the exploitation of the collective farmer is ended. However, the emancipation of rural and urban workers is possible *only* if the political and economic system in the USSR collapses."[88]

Frenkin did not manage to complete his last book. But its unfinished state is barely noticeable. It was overcome by the enormous work of Emma Frenkin, who prepared the book for publication. The dedication in Frenkin's previous monograph was significant: "To the friend of my life, my wife E. Frenkin, who made an essential contribution to the preparation of this book for publication."[89] The prominent Ukrainian scholar Omeljan Pritsak wrote to Emma Frenkin on 4 April 1988: "I immediately began reading [*Tragediia krest'ianskikh vosstanii v Rossii*] and was delighted by your husband's presentation of this complicated history. I believe that an English-language edition would be useful . . . "[90] But Mikhail Frenkin was no longer alive. He died on 20 February 1986.[91] After his death Allan Wildman wrote: "Had fate allowed Mikhail Frenkin a normal career either there or here, he would have been recognized as an outstanding historian of the first magnitude."[92] Wildman also made an observation that does not apply to Frenkin alone: "In sum, Frenkin's work is a monument to what the best Soviet scholarship might achieve were it permitted to unfold its creative potential."[93]

Kyiv, Ukraine

Translated from the Ukrainian by Marco Carynnyk

NOTES

1. Documents indicated that he was born in 1909, but as Frenkin himself stated, a year was added to his age when he was an adolescent so that he could enter university.
2. Author's archives.
3. Letter from the Tsentral'nyi arkhiv Ministerstva bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii (*subsequently* TsAMBRF), no. 10/A-3764, dated 10 November 1992.
4. Author's archives.
5. Ibid; biographical note to Mikhail Frenkin "Nekotorye voprosy tragicheskogo iskhoda bor'by krest'ianstva v khode russkoi revoliutsii i ego kolkhoznoe zakreposhchenie," *Kontinent* 43 (1985): 270.
6. Letter from the TsAMBRF.
7. Frenkin, *Tragediia krest'ianskikh vosstanii v Rossii 1918–1921 gg.* (Jerusalem, 1987), p. 227.
8. Author's archives.
9. Frenkin *Tragedia krest'ianskikh*, p. 226.
10. Letter from the TsAMBRF; author's archives.
11. Frenkin, "Nekotorye voprosy," p. 270; author's archives.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Frenkin, *Don vo vtoroi polovine XVIII veka* (Rostov-na-Donu, 1939).
15. Frenkin, "Nekotorye voprosy," p. 270.
16. Letter from the TsAMBRF.
17. A. V. Pshenichnyi, "Repressii arkhivistov v 1930 godakh." *Sovetskie arkhivy* 1986 (6): 46.
18. Ibid., pp. 46–47.
19. Letter from the TsAMBRF.
20. Author's archives; letter from the TsAMBRF.
21. Author's archives.
22. Author's archives.
23. Ibid; letter from the TsAMBRF.
24. Frenkin, "Nekotorye voprosy," p. 270.
25. Frenkin, *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie na Rumynskom fronte 1917 g.–mart 1918 g. Soldaty 8-i armii Rumynskogo fronta v bor'be za mir i vlast' Sovetov* (Moscow, 1965).

26. Frenkin, *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie*, p. 299; Frenkin, "Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie na Rumynskom fronte (1917–mart 1918): Soldaty 4, 6, 9 armii Rumynskogo fronta v period podgotovki i provedeniia Velikoi Oktiabr'skoi Sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii" (unpublished dissertation) (n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 469, 470; Frenkin, "Nekotorye voprosy deiatel'nosti Tsentral'noi Rady i ee voiskovykh organov v armii v period podgotovki i provedeniia Velikoi Oktiabr'skoi Sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii (Politika i praktika Tsentral'noi Rady)." *Trudy Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-arkhivnogo instituta* 26 (1968): 31–33, 37, 57; Frenkin, "Sodeistvie russkikh revoliutsionnykh soldat v bor'be rumynskikh trudiashchikhsia v 1917 godu." *Voprosy istorii* 1973(7): 30–39.
27. Allan Wildman, "Mikhail S. Frenkin, 1909–1986." *Slavic Review* 46 (Spring 1987): 182–83; Iurii Fel'shtinskii, "Pamiati M. S. Frenkina," *Russkaia mysl'* 21 March 1986.
28. Wildman, Review of *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia 1917–1918*, by Mikhail S. Frenkin. *Slavic Review* 40 (Summer 1981): 285–86.
29. Wildman, "Mikhail S. Frenkin," p. 183.
30. Author's archives; Frenkin "Nekotorye voprosy," p. 270.
31. Author's archives.
32. Wildman, "Mikhail S. Frenkin," p. 183; Wildman, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army: The Road to Soviet Power and Peace*. vol. 2 (Princeton, 1987), p. xii.
33. Wildman, "Mikhail S. Frenkin," p. 183; Fel'shtinskii, "Pamiati M. S. Frenkina."
34. Author's archives.
35. Frenkin, *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia, 1917–1918* (Munich, 1978), p. 7.
36. Ibid., p. viii.
37. Wildman, Review of *Russkaia armiia,* p. 284.
38. Frenkin, *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia,* pp. 211–12.
39. Ibid., p. 221.
40. Ibid., pp. 526–29.
41. Ibid., p. 534.
42. Ibid., pp. 635–39.
43. Ibid., p. 693.
44. Peter Kenez, Review of *Russkaia armiia i revoliutsiia, 1917–1918*, by M. Frenkin. *Russian Review* 40 (April 1981): 196.
45. Wildman, Review of *Russkaia armiia,* p. 285.
46. Author's archives.

47. Ibid.

48. Kenez, Review of *Russkaia armiia,* pp. 195–96.

49. Wildman, *End of the Russian Imperial Army,* vol. 2, p. xi.

50. Frenkin, *Zakhvat vlasti bol'shevikami v Rossii i rol' tylovykh garnizonov armii: Podgotovka i provedenie Oktiabr'skogo miatezha, 1917–1918* (Jerusalem, 1982).

51. Ibid., p. i.

52. Ibid., p. ii.

53. Ibid., pp. 340–41.

54. Ibid., p. 154.

55. Lev Bykovsky *Solomon I. Goldelman: A Portrait of a Politician and Educator (1885–1974): A Chapter in Ukrainian-Jewish Relations* (New York, 1980), p. 9.

56. *See* Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta derzhavnoho upravlinnia Ukraïny (subsequently TsDAVOU), fond 2758, opys 1, sprava 72, arkush 45; and "Tezy pro ukraïns'ko-zhydivs'ki vidnosyny," ibid., arkush 92.

57. Frenkin, *Zakhvat vlasti,* p. 148.

58. Ibid.

59. Frenkin, "Nemetskoe zoloto i Oktiabr'skii perevorot," *Russkaia mysl'* 8 January 1981.

60. Wildman, "Mykhail S. Frenkin," p. 183.

61. Author's archives.

62. Frenkin, "Natsional'no-vyzvol'nyi rukh u Rosiï pid chas liutnevoï revoliutsiï 1917 roku iak mohutnii chynnyk politychnoï borot'by v derzhavi." *Suchasnist'* 3–4 (March/April 1981): 112–27; 5 (May 1981): 55–64.

63. Ibid., p. 61.

64. Ibid., p. 63.

65. Ibid., p. 61.

66. Frenkin, "Nekotorye voprosy tragicheskogo iskhoda bor'by krest'ianstva v khode russkoi revoliutsii, grazhdanskoi voiny 1918–1921 gg. i ego kolkhoznogo zakreposhcheniia. Fal'sifikatsiia natsional'nogo i krest'ianskogo voprosov v stat'e A. Zinov'eva." *Forum* 8 (1984): 197–99.

67. Frenkin, "Do pytannia ukraïns'ko-ievreis'kykh vzaiemyn," *Suchasnist'* 11 (November 1985): 79.

68. Ibid., pp. 80–81.

69. Vasyl' Veryha, "Na ukraïns'ko-zhydivs'ki temy," *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 1989 (1–3): 147.
70. Roman Serbyn, "Ukraïns'ko-ievreis'kyi diialoh bez 'tabu.'" *Suchasnist'* 194 (7–8) July-August: 217.
71. Frenkin, "Do pytannia ukraïns'ko-ievreis'kykh vzaiemyn," *Suchasnist'* 1985 (11) November: 79.
72. Ibid., p. 85.
73. Frenkin, "Promova z pryvodu vidkryttia pam'iatnyka zhertvam ukraïns'koï natsiï, shcho zahynuly vid ruk totalitarnykh rezhymiv: soviets'koï vlady ta nimets'koho fashyzmu," *Diialohy* 1985 (9–10): 19.
74. Israel Kleiner, *Vladimir (Zeev) Zhabotyns'kyi i ukraïns'ke pytannia: Vsedliuds'kist' u shatakh natsionalizmu* (Kyiv, 1995), 73.
75. Author's archives; Frenkin, "Promova z pryvodu vidkryttia," p. 14.
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80. Frenkin, "Promova z pryvodu vidkryttia," p. 20.
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82. Wildman, "Mikhail S. Frenkin," p. 183.
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84. Ibid., pp. 127–47.
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89. Frenkin, *Zakhvat vlasti.*
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93. Wildman, Review of *Russkaia armiia,* p. 286.

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REVIEWS

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE. By *Paul Robert Magocsi.* A History of East Central Europe, Vol. 1. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1993. xiii, 218 pp., maps, tables, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-295-97248-3. cloth.

At first, many may overlook a volume with the term "atlas" in its title as nothing more than a collection of simple, time-specific maps that do not go much beyond reproducing what is commonly known about a region. As geographers like to point out, though, fundamental spatial concepts—location (both absolute and relative), distance, movement, and interaction to name but a few—play a vital role in the unfolding of historical events. Furthermore, maps, when thoughtfully prepared and well executed, can go beyond the "facts" of history not only to illuminate the spatial context within which events occur, but to suggest other possible relationships and causal factors in these events. *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* is one volume that ably demonstrates these higher-level aspects; indeed, the fact that editors Peter F. Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold chose this as the first of their proposed ten-volume series *A History of East Central Europe* further demonstrates the importance of having maps as a foundation to any serious historical presentation.

The volume—the first of its kind—treats the period from the early fifth century to 1992 for the region that encompasses present-day Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Moldova, plus eastern Germany, northeastern Italy, western Turkey, and the lands of historic Poland-Lithuania, including Belarus and Ukraine to the Dnipro. The presentation is roughly chronological and includes eighty-nine full-color maps with accompanying text. For the most part, text for a particular topic (e.g., "The period of feudal subdivisions, ca. 1250") appears on the left with a full-page map (in this case East Central Europe, ca. 1250) appearing on the right to allow for easy reference. Nearly all the maps, though, are dynamic in that they treat a wider historical context by superimposing various cartographic symbols to represent boundaries, movements of peoples, and other important events on the single sheet. The reader thus gains a much fuller view of the evolving patterns than would be the case with a static map. An added bonus of the volume is the inclusion of twenty-eight tables covering a wealth of information and statistical data, especially on ethnolinguistic-national compositions for selected countries/regions. Finally, a comprehensive list of map sources, other bibliographic information, and a useful index are provided.

Overall, the written text is succinct, as comprehensive as possible for a work such as this, and neutral in presentation. Furthermore, the maps are superb: Magocsi should be given high marks for his excellent job of compilation, and Geoffrey J. Matthews deserves a great deal of credit for cartographic design and production. On the other hand, some no doubt may find fault in various aspects of the volume. For example, the choice of place names is invariably problematic; in this case, the author has opted for consistency rather than historical criteria, so that the main entry for each place is the same on every map and reflects contemporary conditions. Also, some may find fault with drawing exact boundaries on maps where such precision is unwarranted, as is the case with empires. Finally, the decision to include vassal states within a particular empire at a particular period of time is subject to interpretation; some of the maps

should therefore be viewed with a degree of reserve. However, these points are intended to be no more than observations rather than criticisms of the book.

Overall, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* is excellent; I strongly recommend it to anyone with an interest in this fascinating region. The book presents a clear and comprehensive view of an extremely complex part of the world over a long period of time and thereby furnishes an outstanding contribution to the understanding of East Central Europe. The volume also amply demonstrates the value of cartographic representation in historical presentation and will set the standard for other works of this genre. Both Magosci and Matthews are to be congratulated for their fine effort.

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SOTSIAL'NO-EKONOMICHNA HEOHRAFIIA UKRAÏNY. Edited by *Oleh Shablii.* L'viv: Svit, 1994. 608 pp. ISBN B-7773-0230-0 (cloth). 85 illus., including maps, sketches, diagrams, 7 portraits.

Geographical literature in Ukraine, unlike historical, is not voluminous. Since Ukraine became independent, only two textbooks have been published—one for secondary schools by Maksym Palamarchuk, and one for geography faculties of pedagogical institutes and universities by Fedir Zastavnyi. In a certain sense these textbooks, like others, carry the burden of the past—they mostly feature the geography of production, and the regionalization of Ukraine is based on Soviet imperial schemes.

The book under review differs positively from previous works, both by its structure and by its content. In this book, the socio-economic geography (anthropogeography) of Ukraine is presented from modern scientific and national-state perspectives. A rather large chapter of the book is dedicated to "Political-Geographic Features of Ukraine" (124 pp.), in which the author provides a survey of the state and national territory of Ukraine, its borders, political-geographic situation (in relation to its immediate neighbors, Europe and Eurasia, and on a global scale), and shows a contemporary territorial-administrative system and the ways by which it could be improved. Some paragraphs are dedicated to political parties and movements, geopolitical doctrines (not exclusively Ukrainian, but Russian and Polish as well), and electoral geography. Here Ukraine is divided into four main political-geographic regions—Western, Central, Eastern and Southern, with more detailed integration of each.

Also innovative is a long chapter entitled "Ethno- and Demogeography." It starts with a review of the most important problems of the development of this field of anthropogeography of Ukraine (the study of global geospatial, especially global-zonal aspects of the Ukrainian ethnos). Here the author shows the tendency of "arctization" of the Ukrainian ethnos, the formation of its global band in temperate zones, etc.; the investigation of the Ukrainian ethnos along Ukrainian ethnic borders; the investigation of geographic aspects of national depopulation; and others. For the first time, a contemporary textbook surveys the question of Ukrainian ethnogenesis and genesis of the nation (it refutes the theory of the so-called "Old Rus' nationality"). A large part of the volume is taken up by analyses of the ethnic make-up of the population of Ukraine and its territorial differences: the demographic situation, the social structure of the popula-

tion, its human resources potential, population distribution and formation of systems of settlement, and how migration processes influence the formation of ethnic make-up in different regions of Ukraine.

The chapter "Economic Geography" has two main characteristics: (a) a survey of the structure of the national complex is conducted not traditionally, by branches, but by interbranch blocks (and the survey starts not with "heavy industry" blocks as the authors of Soviet-era handbooks would customarily do, but with agro- and forestry-industrial complexes, and ends with characteristics of the geography of interbranch complexes of the industrial and ecological infrastructure—ecological-economic, hydro-economic, etc.; and (b) a new economic-geographic regionalization of Ukraine is conducted. It first of all divides Ukraine into the following economic zones: Northern-Forest Zone, Central-Forest-Steppe Zone, Southern-Steppe Zone, and fragments of a Mountain Zone (Carpathian Mountains and Crimea), which in turn are divided into individual territorial sectors—economic regions.

The truly innovative part of this book is the chapter "Social Geography," where the essence of the social infrastructure is shown: the territorial organization of the cultural-educational and social complexes of Ukraine. For the first time, this textbook reviews peculiarities of the development and distribution of recreational and scientific complexes. Of absolute novelty is the survey of the geography of religion.

In the book under review, so-called social-economic regionalization is conducted for the first time. It takes into account not only the distribution and functioning of the economy, but also regional characteristics of social life and geographic tendencies directed to the main cultural and industrial centers—cities with a population of a million and over. According to this regionalization, there are the following regions: Central, Western, Northern-Eastern, Central-Eastern, Eastern and Southern.

Sotsial'no-ekonomichna heohrafiia Ukraïny ends with a review of the geography of Ukraine's external relations (political, economical, scientific) and a chapter on "Ukraine on the Eve of the Twenty-first Century." There are fifteen tables with data that characterize the administrative-territorial system of Ukraine, its place in the world by various kinds of production, the distribution of the Ukrainian population beyond the borders of Ukraine, the confessional situation, the natural resources potential of each region, and so on. Unfortunately, there is no name index, geographic index, or list of recommended literature.

The book is intended for a wide audience, but the Ministry of Education of Ukraine recommends it primarily as a textbook for the intensive study of geography by all students of universities and institutes, colleges and high schools, and for geography teachers.

This book's translation and publication in Russian in 1995 will make it possible for readers from many post-communist countries where most of the population is competent in the Russian language to become familiar with the true social-economic geography of Ukraine, free of falsifications and imperial ambitions.

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ISTORIIA FILOSOFIÏ UKRAÏNY: KHRESTOMATIIA. Edited by *Mykola Fedosiiovych Tarasenko, Myroslav Iuriiovych Rusyn, Ada Korniïvna Bychko, et al.* Kyiv: Lybid', 1993. 559 pp. + index. ISBN (paper) 5-325-00254-6.

ISTORIIA FILOSOFIÏ UKRAÏNY: PIDRUCHNYK. By *Mykola Fedosiiovych Tarasenko, Myroslav Iuriiovych Rusyn, Ihor Valentynovych Bychko, et al.* Kyiv: Lybid', 1994. 413 pp. + index. ISBN (paper) 5-325-00253-8.

The first book is an anthology of primary sources in Ukrainian philosophy from the medieval period to the present. Its value can hardly be overestimated: it is the first collection of its kind, and it gives the Ukrainian reader ready access to materials, most of which are difficult to find and some of which have been inaccessible until now. As far as I know, excerpts from Stanislav Orikhovski's [Stanisław Orzechowski] *Instructions for the Polish King*, a sixteenth-century Latin publication, appear here in Ukrainian for the first time, while excerpts from two manuscripts—Hryhorii Shcherbats'kyi's philosophy lectures (in Latin) at the Kyivan Mohyla Academy in 1651, and Petro Lodii's *Short Introduction to Metaphysics* (in eighteenth-century Ruthenian) are published (in standard Ukrainian) for the first time. The second book is an indispensable companion to the anthology: it points out the key ideas in the readings, locates them within the framework of their authors' thought, places the authors in their historical context, and weaves the contexts together into a history. The handbook can be used independently of the anthology.

It is evident from the changes in the distribution of the sections among the different chapters that the two books were not planned carefully enough at the beginning. The set is designed for university and post-secondary-school students. To judge how it meets this purpose, I shall assess (1) how comprehensive is the selection of readings in this anthology, (2) how objective is the historical presentation in the handbook, and (3) how clear or comprehensible is the textbook discussion of the readings.

The criteria for "Ukrainian philosophy," which are discussed by Vasyl' Lisovyi in the first chapter of the textbook, are wide enough for a coherent picture of the development of Ukrainian intellectual culture. The philosophically relevant literature presented in the anthology consists not only of formally philosophical works but also of religious, literary, historical, and political texts that contain philosophical ideas, and what makes this literature Ukrainian is that it was produced by Ukrainians or played a part in Ukrainian intellectual life (p. 19). What might be called the "pre-philosophical" period, i.e., the period preceding the emergence of philosophy as a distinctive activity with its own form of literature, is represented by Metropolitan Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace*, the supplication of Danylo the Exile, the *Collection* of Sviatoslav (1073), the *Teaching* of Kyryk of Novgorod, the *Life of Cyril the Philosopher*, Klym Smoliatych's letter to Presbyter Khoma, the *Bee* collection (all translated into standard Ukrainian by Stanyslav Bodnar), Isaiia Kopyns'kyi's *Spiritual Alphabet*, Vitalii of Dubno's *Dioptra*, Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovets'kyi's *Mirror of Theology*, Stanislav Orikhovs'kyi's *Instructions...*, Khrystof Filalet's *Apokrisis*, Ivan Vyshens'kyi's *Book*, and Pylyp Orlyk's *Devolution of Ukraine's Rights*. Had there been more space, a number of works such as Volodymyr Monomakh's *An Instruction for [My] Children* and *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* could have been added.

The other category of non-philosophical writings, consisting of literary and journalistic works on broad philosophical themes, offers the editors a much wider choice of selections. They provide selections from Mykola Kostomarov's *Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People* and *Two Rus' Peoples*, and from Ivan Franko's, Lesia Ukraïnka's, and Volodymyr Vynnychenko's articles on ethical, aesthetic, political, or historical questions. Instead of selecting samples of Mykola Hohol's, Panteleimon Kulish's, and Taras Shevchenko's literary works that contain philosophical ideas, the editors use interpretative articles about these writers, thus defeating the very idea of an anthology.

Philosophical works in the strict sense consist of excerpts from Kasiian Sakovych's *Treatise on the Soul in General*, Innokentii Gizel's *Total Work of Philosophy*, Feofan Prokopovych's lectures on logic and physics, Heorhii Shcherbats'kyi's lecture, Hryhorii Skovoroda's dialogue *The Serpent's Flood*, Pamfil Iurkevych's articles, Volodymyr Lesevych's articles, Heorhii Chelpanov's *Brain and Soul*, Vasyl' Zen'kovs'kyi's *Problems of Psychic Causality*, and Dmytro Chyzhevs'kyi's articles. Here some questions can be raised about Chelpanov's and Zen'kovs'kyi's inclusion among Ukrainian philosophers and about the omission of thinkers such as Heorhii Konys'kyi, Stepan Iavors'kyi, Orest Novyts'kyi, Syl'vestr Hohots'kyi, Petro Linyts'kyi, Ivan Mirchuk, and Mykola Shlemkevych, who are mentioned—and some even discussed—in the textbook.

The last category encompasses works in political theory focused on Ukrainian independence: excerpts from the ideological writings of Mykhailo Drahomanov, Dmytro Dontsov, and V'iacheslav Lypyns'kyi, as well as Ivan Lysiak-Rudnyts'kyi's essays on the development of Ukrainian national consciousness. This section, along with the excerpt from Pylyp Orlyk, should have been left for a specialized anthology in political thought or "politology," thus freeing space for the core areas of philosophy.

Surprisingly enough, there are no selections from Ukrainian Soviet philosophers in the anthology. Instead, a historical survey of philosophy in the Soviet period is offered in the last chapter, a survey that coincides largely with the final chapter in the textbook. The editors offer no explanation for this policy. Works published since the 1960s might be excluded because of their accessibility, while books and articles from the 1920s–1930s by philosophers such as Semen Semkovs'kyi, Volodymyr Iurynets', and Petro Demchuk are not within reach of students.

The historical setting that is necessary for grasping the sense and significance of the readings is described with scholarly detachment in the textbook. There is none of the abusive language that was so glaring in Soviet publications. The critical comments that appear occasionally in the textbook are restrained and fair. They are directed usually at the logical merits of the discussed texts, and are helpful to the student. The textbook chapter on philosophy under the Soviet regime may serve as a test of objectivity. It shows very clearly how philosophical thought was suppressed and by the early 1930s completely eradicated, how Ukrainian culture was degraded to a provincial status, and how the Ukrainian cultural elite was destroyed in the 1930s. The revival of Ukrainian philosophy since the 1960s is outlined briefly, but no mention is made of the ideological straight jacket that continued to confine philosophical thought, or of the persecution suffered by intellectuals who dared to criticize Party policy. The authors point out the main areas of growth and the trends in Ukrainian philosophy in the last thirty years without boasting about its achievements.

The chapters of the textbook vary in style, since they are written by different authors. All of them are competently written, but some are better organized and written in clearer language than others. The early chapters, dealing with periods for which there is little concrete data, tend to be more verbose, vague, and convoluted than the later chapters. The chapter on radical nationalism (by I. V. Losiev) stands out with its lucid prose. Most

chapters of the textbook are matched with certain chapters in the anthology, but the kind and amount of information they supply varies. Some provide little more than a summary of the main points in the readings. Others provide an interpretation of a philosophical system or world view which the readings express, or an outline of the whole intellectual tradition or milieu to which the readings belong. The chapters on humanist and reformation ideas (by V. M. Nichyk and Ia. M. Stratii), philosophical studies at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy (by Stratii), Hryhorii Skovoroda (by Nichyk and A. V. Romenets'), and Pamfil Iurkevych (by M. I. Luk) are particularly informative. Several textbook chapters do not refer to any specific readings in the anthology. They function as bridges between the other chapters and fill in the historical gaps between the more important periods of philosophical growth. The chapters on Slavic mythology and the intellectual culture of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries serve this purpose. I have detected no traces of the crude formula of the struggle of materialism and idealism, which Soviet historians of philosophy used as an organizing and explanatory principle, and only a few whiffs of the famous sociological explanation of intellectual change that was widespread in Soviet historical studies of philosophy. The textbook sets a new standard of intellectual responsibility and writing style.

Each chapter in the textbook ends with a concise and up-to-date bibliography that should be very useful to students. Only the bibliography on Skovoroda is too concise; *Filosofiia Hryhoriia Skovorody*, ed. V. I. Shynkaruk (Kyiv, 1972) and I. V. Ivan'o, *Filosofiia i styl' myslennia H. Skovorody* (Kyiv, 1983) should be added to it.

There is no explanation of, or even comment on, the odd titles of the two books. Apart from the titles, the expression "philosophy of Ukraine" does not appear in either book, and the phrase "philosophical thought of Ukraine" appears only once in the textbook (p. 181). The usual expressions in both books are the perfectly natural "Ukrainian philosophical thought" and "Ukrainian philosophy." My hunch is that the editors took Dmytro Chyzhevs'kyi's claim that the term "Ukrainian philosophy" implies a unique Ukrainian contribution to world philosophy too seriously. They are right not to use "philosophy in Ukraine" (Chyzhevs'kyi's preferred phrase) as a suitable title, for the books deal with thinkers outside Ukraine and with only some thinkers in Ukraine. But they are wrong to coin new and unusual expressions without explaining what the expressions mean and why they should be used.

Considering the speed with which the two volumes were produced, they are a remarkable achievement. They will undoubtedly play a critical role in raising the standards of philosophical education in Ukraine.

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JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES. Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Summer–Winter 1992. Volume 17. No. 1/2 (*Special Issue:* Early Modern Ukraine). 250 pp., illustrations. ISSN 0228-1635.

Most special issues of journals are a hodgepodge of articles of various degrees of quality and interest. This one is an exception. The quality is uniformly high, and the degree of attention the articles will arouse depends primarily on the reader's acquaintance with the field and personal interests.

A number of the authors have given us a series of superb overviews of basic problems as they are seen today in Ukrainian historiography in the West. Not surprisingly, only two (Kohut and Sysyn) focus on political history, Sysyn more on the consequences of the Khmel'nyts'kyi revolt for national consciousness and Kohut on the political history of all three East Slavic nations for the whole early modern period. Kohut calls for a reexamination of the interactions of all three, especially in the areas of religion and political culture. The "Little Russian idea," for example, was in this period an ideology defending Ukrainian autonomy, not subservience to the Russian empire. Sysyn surveys the impact of the Khmel'nyts'kyi revolt on the development of Ukrainian national consciousness, and he does so in the context of seventeenth-century culture and ideas, not anachronistic notions from the nineteenth century. Serhii Plokhy's contribution is more specific, adding an important concrete element to these general arguments. He examines the Pokrova icon depicting Khmel'nyts'kyi as an example of the growing cult of the great Hetman in the years 1727–1728, when the hetmanate was restored under Danylo Apostol. The icon and cult as well were both part of the "Little Russian idea," which Plokhy interprets along the lines of Kohut.

A large number of the contributors focus on one or the other aspect of religion, a welcome trend in Ukrainian historiography. Normally religion has been seen as a form of nationalist ideology, varying according to time and place, but essentially out of the context of faith. Ihor Ševčenko surveys religious polemics of the period, noting some of many areas of needed research. David Frick and Dushan Bednarsky look at Zyzanii and Smotryts'kyi, and St. Dmytryi Tuptalo (of Rostov), respectively. Bednarsky examines the saint's rhetoric, while Frick explicates a fascinating example of "cross-cultural misunderstanding" involving Russian, Ukrainian, and Greek clergy. He raises a number of problems for the traditional views of Lavrentii Zyzanii, especially his trip to Moscow, and if he cannot ultimately solve them, he certainly makes clear to the reader how slender is the basis of accepted views. Finally, Antoni Mironowicz gives a good close-up of Orthodox centers and organization, both parishes and *bratstva*, in Podlachia.

The collection does not neglect social and economic history. Shmuel Ettinger gives us an admirable survey of the social and legal status of the Jews of the Polish-Lithuanian state to 1648, covering not only statute but practice. Iryna Voronchuk analyzes peasant status and life in Volhynia in the first half of the seventeenth century with admirable precision, but not getting beyond the traditional Soviet categories of impoverishment and differentiation.

Three of the articles seem to me to present arguments or material that warrant some comment at greater length. Peter Rolland publishes three letters from Simjaon Polacki to Lazar Baranovych from 1669–1670. Simjaon was an important enough figure that anything from his pen is valuable, but these letters touch on the problems he found in getting Lazar's *Truby sloves propovednikh* published in Moscow. Lazar's earlier sermon collection had been distributed with official sanction in Russia, and he clearly did not anticipate trouble. Simjaon, however, did, and his reaction is an extremely rare case of a reported Russian reaction to Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the area of faith, not ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Simjaon wanted to adjust Lazar's Slavonic, but that was not a serious problem: the real issue was the Ukrainian bishop's sermons on the birth of the Mother of God, where he accepted the Catholic notion of the Immaculate Conception and the related idea of original sin. This, in Simjaon's view, the "stubborn" among the Russians would not accept, and not surprisingly, since Orthodox theology has never accepted the Western notion of original sin. It is not clear from the correspondence if this issue was the one that prevented publication, or whether other issues intervened, but in any case Simjaon's remark is a crucial witness.

Mikhail Dmitriev and Natalia Pylypiuk both present some provacative and potentially fruitful ideas about religious issues in Ukrainian Orthodoxy of the period. Dmitriev advances the idea that the basic motivation behind the Union of Brest was fear of the Reformation among the Orthodox Rus'. This is probably the first new idea on the union advanced in a century, and the first one to present religious, not national or political motivations for our consideration. It has the virtue of taking account of the very real issue of Calvinist sympathies and belief among the Orthodox Rus' population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It also takes seriously the religious character of the surviving polemical literature, which does not focus on language, as often seems the case from modern accounts. Pylypiuk reopens the entire issue of the religious character of seventeenth-century Ukrainian culture. Her article represents a more or less open polemic with the tendency of especially Soviet philologists to look for art, in the modern Western sense, in seventeenth-century Ukrainian writings. By analyzing the work and reception of Ivan Velychkovs'kyi, she shows how exceptional was his attempt to write poetry for the sake of art (if not art alone!). In the curriculum of the Kyiv Academy, poetry or any other verbal art was simply an accessory to language study, and that in turn was a vehicle for philosophy and theology. She speculates that it was the absence of a Ukrainian court that was responsible for the absence of art, as it was the West European courts that sponsored secular and usually vernacular poetry and drama. The role of the Russian court in the seventeenth century, and the eventual Russian turn to Polish poetry away from Ukrainian sermons, would seem to bear her out. If I may quarrel with one of her conclusions, I might suggest that the currriculum of the Kyivan Academy, which she has described so accurately, is misleadingly called "scholastic." It was a reformulation of scholasticism by Renaissance and Baroque scholars, though we do not yet know clearly the intellectual background of that neo-scholasticism (Paris? Louvain? Padua? There were differences). Nevertheless, Pylypiuk has done an important service in placing Velychkovs'kyi as well as the Academy in proper context.

In sum, this is a fine and important collection, combining judicious surveys with many new and suggestive ideas.

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MEMORIA IN ALTRUßLAND: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU DEN FORMEN CHRISTLICHER TOTENSORGE. By *Ludwig Steindorff.* Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des ostlichen Europa, Bd. 38. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994. 294 pp.; appendix; name, geographic, and subject indices; bibliography. ISBN (paper) 3-515-06195-9.

The impulse to commemorate the dead is found in most cultures—both Christian and pre-Christian. Historians of the Western Middle Ages have been investigating commemoration practices and rituals for several decades now. To be sure, enough literature has been produced by these scholars for there even to have evolved fairly lively, and sometimes testy, debates. In the historiography of pre-modern Ukraine and Russia, however, the topic has barely been broached. A few historians and *chartists* have examined some of the sources that record commemorations in Kyivan Rus' and Muscovy (Petukhov, Dergacheva, Sazonov, Konev), particularly monastic sinodikons (*sinodiki* or *pomianniki*). A few others have touched briefly on death and commemora-

tion in their descriptions of Orthodox spirituality and religious practice. What Steindorff has done with this book is to provide medieval Ukrainian and Russian historiography with its first study dedicated specifically to the subject. It is a comprehensive work, makes extensive use of rare archival materials, and engagingly describes the range of commemorative activity of Orthodox East Slavs to the end of the seventeenth century.

Steindorff first takes up the question of the liturgical role of commemoration in the Orthodox faith. He outlines the liturgical cycle—its daily, weekly and annual rubrics—and identifies those provisions made by the Church for remembering the living and the dead in its services. He makes the case for the centrality of commemoration in the liturgical and spiritual life of the Orthodox Church, pointing to the several feasts earmarked specifically for commemoration: e.g., the Sunday of Orthodoxy, Great Lent and Paskha, and *Radunitsa*. In this survey, Steindorff pays particular attention to the rituals surrounding death, demonstrating that many of these rituals represent christianized forms of "pagan" ancestor worship. Steindorff next examines commemorative practices in Byzantium, among the South Slavs, and in Kyivan Rus'. Here he notes the earliest incidences and sources of commemoration in this territory—in chronicle writing, iconography and frescos, and even the birch bark texts. He shows the continuities of Kyivan and Muscovite commemorative practices with those of the Byzantine East, but identifies innovation and invention as well.

Having dealt with the liturgics and historical background, Steindorff lastly turns his attention to what is clearly his chief interest and, it should be noted, his most important contribution: the administration of commemoration in Muscovite monasteries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Praying for the dead was one of the most important functions of Muscovy's holy houses. Steindorff carefully defines and enumerates the various texts that were used to record and implement monastic commemorations—the sinodikon, the Donation Book (*Vkladnaia kniga*), and the Book of Feasts (*Kormovaia kniga*). He sees in these texts the first appearance of more modern accounting and recording techniques in Muscovite history. For Steindorff, the origins of these techniques—first developed at Volokolamsk Monastery in the late fifteenth century—are rooted in the growing number of names in prayer lists. Steindorff shows that, unlike in the medieval West, the need to economize commemorations fostered the evolution of two separate prayer lists in Muscovite monasteries. Maintaining these lists required increasingly sophisticated administrative skills. These skills, Steindorff suggests, would be adopted elsewhere, in both religious and non-religious institutions.

This bald summary of some of the larger arguments does little justice to the contents of this important and pioneering book. It is an encyclopedic work, arranged in sections which methodically and meticulously deal with all the vital topics in turn. It also contains an important appendix that lists and briefly describes the manuscript sources for several Muscovite monasteries, including an inventory of sources for Volokolamsk Monastery. This appendix is itself a valuable contribution, and reflects the years of research he has conducted on this most important of Muscovite holy houses. Without a doubt, Steindorff has given us an important study that will prove indispensable for scholars studying medieval Ukrainian and Russian religiosity, monastic communities, the history of literacy, or chancellery practice. While the progress on this front may indeed be much greater in the historiography of the medieval West, Steindorff's book is an enormous first step, answering the important and fundamental questions: why did Kyivans and Muscovites commemorate the dead, and how did they understand what they were doing?

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KIEV: A PORTRAIT, 1800–1917. By *Michael F. Hamm*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 304.

This is the first general account of the city of Kyiv published in English. Beginning with the early history of the city and the state of Kyivan Rus', the first chapter covers the first millennium; it ends with an explanation of how in the eighteenth century the city and area came under the power of imperial Russia. The author then follows with a physical description of the city in the nineteenth century, giving brief sketches of the local government and Kyiv's industries. The next three chapters discuss in turn the Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish populations in the city. Before resuming a chronological survey, Hamm takes up recreation, the arts, and popular culture in the sixth chapter. The final three chapters of the book relate the events of the 1905 revolution, pogroms, and the last years of Kyiv under tsarist rule.

Lavish with interesting photographs (24), but stingy with maps (1), the author furnishes nine useful tables concerning the demography, occupations, ethnicity, and property ownership of Kyiv's inhabitants; he also includes data concerning voting turnout and city expenditures. Much of the material in this monograph derives from contemporary newspapers, memoirs, and histories. Unfortunately, because of the politics of the time, Hamm was unable to utilize local archives. Nonetheless, he has made impressive use of the sources available to him, including some central archival material and extensive secondary literature.

The focus of this study is largely on politics, whether ethnic politics, labor politics, local politics, or Russian imperial politics as it affected Kyiv. Some social history is presented, but much more could have been gleaned from the 1897 Russian imperial census which the author cites, but uses only sparingly. Women's contributions to Kyivan society, for example, might have been expanded had the author consulted Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak's study of Ukrainian women (Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884–1939.* Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and University of Alberta, 1988).

Economic historians are bound to be disappointed, as apart from brief descriptions of the Contract Fairs and some industries, especially of sugar beets, and a bit on railroads, the economic underpinnings of the city and region are not examined. The reader is left to surmise why the population of 70,000 in 1870 soared to 127,000 four years later, or indeed what accounted for the impressive growth to 626,000 persons in 1914 (p. 230). The social and economic dynamics of this rapidly expanding city are left understated.

In a book so dense with facts and descriptions, it might be expected to find a few errors. But one would also expect the editors to note that the Italian Contarini is lurking under "K" in the index and on pages 15 and 85. They might also have caught the use of colloquialisms such as "to the tune of" (p. 147) or "Hanging out in Kiev" (p. 153), or the hybrid spelling of tsar as "tzar" twice on page 125. The translation of *chto vam ugodno* as "I speak only Russian" (p. 67) should have been caught at the press. There might also be some errors of interpretation such as representing the *popechitel'stva* (pp. 164–65) as city organizations, whereas they were founded, promoted, and supported by the Russian Imperial Ministry of Finance. While Hamm makes every attempt to present a balanced view on pogroms, his conclusion that "After all, local authorities tolerated, even encouraged, the pogroms, and by implication and rumor—so did higher authorities, possibly even the tsar" (p. 206) appears to be a somewhat old fashioned view. According to the majority of the authors of the essays in the recent book edited by John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza (cited by Hamm in his bibliography), imperial authorities were against violence in all its expressions because it might have led to revolts and even

revolution (John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, eds. *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

The author has made a solid contribution to the gradually expanding field of Russian urban studies with this exploration of a portion of Kyiv's rich history. His choice of the title "Portrait" is apt. We see a series of snapshots of the city at various points in time. We look at profiles of the major ethnic groups and of some major figures. While the dynamics and texture of a city are more difficult to capture in a portrait, the outlines and configurations of this important city are amply revealed to a potentially wide audience.

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PROBUDZHENNIA NATSIÏ. DO KONTSEPTSIÏ ISTORIÏ UKRAÏNS'KOHO NATSIONAL'NOHO RUKHU DRUHOÏ POLOVYNY XIX ST. By *Serhii Iekel'chyk [Serhy Yekelchyk]*. Melbourne: Monash University, Slavic Section, 1994. 125 pp. ISBN 0 7326 0 546 6.

Serhy Yekelchyk is a refreshing new voice in Ukrainian historical studies. In addition to the book under review, he has written, in English, a marvellous short study of the semiotics of the Ukrainian national revival, which so far is the unique example of structuralist/post-structuralist work in Ukrainian historiography: "The Body and National Myth: Motifs from the Ukrainian National Revival in the Nineteenth Century," *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 7 (2) 1993: 31–59. Yekelchyk is presently attached to the Institute of the History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv), where he earned his candidate's degree in history with a dissertation entitled "Sovremennaia angloiazychnaia istoriografiia obshchestvenno-politicheskikh dvizhenii i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noi bor'by na Ukraine perioda kapitalizma" (1992). That dissertation, reworked and abridged, became this book.

Probudzhennia natsii is organized around an examination of what Western historiography has to say about the development of the Ukrainian national movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, with particular reference to the period running from the 1840s (the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, the revolution of 1848–1849 in Western Ukraine) through the 1880s (i.e., before the emergence of full-blown Ukrainian political parties). The period of special focus coincides with the Ukrainian national movement's "Phase B" (according to the system developed by Miroslav Hroch, whose basic conceptualization Yekelchyk adopts). Partially, the work is intended to familiarize Ukrainian readers with the conceptions and research of Western specialists on Ukraine's nineteenth century, whether of Ukrainian origin or not. But there is more to it than that. Yekelchyk also confronts the Western historiography with Soviet and post-Soviet historiography, assessing the contributions and blind spots of each. Yekelchyk thus performs the valuable service of mediating among scholarly communities.

Yekelchyk also, to use his own words, "made an effort to express his own position on the most fundamental questions, to shore up this or that proposition with archival material, to indicate a (perhaps) promising resolution or direction for research." (p. 9). The historian of the Ukrainian national movement will find much that is stimulating in the ideas Yekelchyk comes up with from his assessment and critique of Western historiography.

In sum, this brief and very readable book helps to put the achievements of Western historical scholarship on nineteenth-century Ukraine in a much-needed perspective and suggests some interesting-looking ways to move forward.

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M. S. HRUSHEVS'KYI I ACADEMIA: IDEIA, ZMAHANNIA, DIIAL'NIST'. By *P. S. Sokhan', V. I. Ulianovs'kyi, and S. M. Kirzhaiev.* Kyiv: Akademiia nauk Ukraïny. Instytut Ukraïns'koi Arkheohrafiï, 1993. 313 pp.

The monograph *M. S. Hrushevs'kyi i Academia* (M. S. Hrushevs'kyi and the Academy) is based upon recently discovered and relatively unknown sources. It therefore merits special attention. As is well known, for years Soviet historians consistently falsified Hrushevs'kyi's scholarly and academic activity. Concurrently, communist authorities forbade (with rare exceptions) access to archival materials pertaining to Hrushevs'kyi and his colleagues. When the specialized discipline of Hrushevs'kyi studies (*Hrushevs'koznavstvo*) was initiated in the West in 1966 by the Ukrainian Historical Association, historians still were unable to avail themselves of extant archives in Ukraine. Thus, this monograph appears as a first attempt at reconstructing Hrushevs'kyi's contribution to the establishment and development of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv during the 1920s.

This is not a definitive work on the subject because Hrushevs'kyi's notes (personal diary) from the 1920s, in which he detailed daily events of importance, have thus far not been located and recovered. The Academy itself must have been the diary's primary focus. (See N. Osadchy Ianata's "Spohady pro M. Hrushevs'koho" [Memoirs about M. Hrushevs'kyi], *Ukraïns'kyi Istoryk* 1982 [3–4]: 150.) For this reason, it is premature to claim any "exact" reconstruction of Hrushevs'kyi's life in the 1920s (see p. 8). The reviewed work does, however, constitute a significant contribution toward the systematic study of Hrushevs'kyi and his historical institutions in the context of the activities and development of the VUAN (All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences).

The monograph consists of three main sections: (1) Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi and the Academy: the concept and the struggle; (2) the founding concept, basic direction and activities of M. S. Hrushevs'kyi's Historical Institutions; and (3) addenda, containing reproductions of twenty-five documents related to the book's theme. This section, the lengthiest, consists of 120 pages. Regrettably, this publication lacks even a short introduction that would specify which of the authors composed the separate sections of the work. The title page indicates the first author as P. S. Sokhan', followed by Ulianovsky and Kirzhaiev. As the names are not listed alphabetically, it would be helpful if the authors would explain whether they wrote all of the book's sections together, or whether each was responsible for separate sections.

In this reviewer's opinion, the most important section of the work represents research done on Hrushevs'kyi's activities during the period 1924–1931; the activities of his Historical Institutions; the analysis of Hrushevs'kyi's conflict with Serhii Iefremov, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi, and others; and of his relations with the communist authorities in Kharkiv, as well as the latter's attitude toward Hrushevs'kyi's work. Also, an analysis is provided regarding the question of Hrushevs'kyi's candidacy for president of the

VUAN, although research on this matter is limited and narrow. It is important to reaffirm that Hrushevs'kyi declined any sort of political cooperation with the Bolsheviks, and refused to write any articles on Lenin, angrily exclaiming, "How dare they dictate to me?" (p. 66). From the beginning, Hrushevs'kyi acted through the presidium and the Historical-Philosophical Section of the Academy, but his plans for developing Ukrainian historical scholarship and establishing his Historical Institutions at the VUAN were immediately met with objections from Kryms'kyi and Iefremov. The latter's unpublished diary reflected their conflict with Hrushevs'kyi in sometimes emotional and tendentious tones.

The authors accurately emphasize that the assertion of Natalia D. Polons'ka-Vasylenko—that "the internal struggle within the Academy and M. S. Hrushevs'kyi's continual appeals to government circles" contributed to interference on the part of government authorities in the Academy's activities—"did not render the situation objectively, for it neglects to include the entire gamut of nuances and concrete reasons for Hrushevs'kyi's various actions" (p. 68). In the conclusion, the authors objectively state that "the radical idea of the development of an independent Ukrainian state and of a Ukrainian culture fully autonomous from that of Russia, but nonetheless connected with European cultures, was a consequence of M. S. Hrushevs'kyi's concept of the UAN" (p. 190).

This publication does, however, contain some methodological flaws, as well as disparate conclusions or hypotheses. This refers mainly to the first section, where the authors provide an attempt at a historiographical and source-based analysis of their subject, and an analysis of Hrushevs'kyi's concepts of a Ukrainian academy of sciences, which he had begun to bring to fruition within the Shevchenko Scientific Society in L'viv, later continuing with the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kyiv. The title of the monograph itself is imprecise and misleading. Do the authors perceive the idea of the "Academia" as a general concept, a generic term, or are they referring specifically to the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv? The latter term is more accurate and better suits the monograph's content, in which the emphasis is upon Hrushevs'kyi's activity and work at the VUAN in the 1920s.

Furthermore, it should be stressed that the overview and analysis of works on Hrushevskiana provided by the authors is not comprehensive; instead, it includes some publications which have little direct relation to the authors' subject. The question arises, did the three authors have the opportunity to individually examine each of the listed publications, especially those published in languages other than Ukrainian? To illustrate, some important bibliographical publications are absent, e.g., *Mykhailo Hrushevsky, 1866–1934: Bibliographic Sources* (Lubomyr Wynar, ed., New York, 1985, 200 pp.) and *Akademik M. S. Hrushevs'kyi: Materiialy do bibliohrafiï* (B. V. Hranovsky, comp., Kyiv, 1991). It is precisely these two bibliographic guides which contain many works on Hrushevs'kyi that are directly related to the subject of the book being reviewed here. Also, the authors list various works of Lubomyr Wynar on Hrushevs'kyi, but Wynar's main study, "Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi i ioho kontseptsiia trokh kyïvs'kykh akademii' [Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi and his Concept of the Three Kyiv Academies]," *Naukovyi zbirnyk UVAN* (1992), which directly correlates with the authors' new work, was not analyzed because they were unable to acquire it.

In some cases, erroneous terms are given, e.g., "UNT" instead of "UIT" (p. 13, no. 24). The authors remain silent regarding the appearance of the collection *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi: Diial'nist i tvorcha spadshchyna* (*Ukraïns'kyi Istoryk* 1991–1992 [28–29]), which also contains important material pertaining to their subject. In some cases, non-existent names are used, e.g., Iukhenko ["M. Hrushevs'kyi and the SVU"].

It remains unclear why the authors neglected to take into consideration the body of works by Soviet researchers. As they state themselves, "works written over the period from the 1930s to the end of the 1980s are deficient due to their blatantly exhibited ideological slant" (p. 20). Serious monographic research works should critically examine all major works by Soviet historians on the topic of the VUAN and Hrushevs'kyi, and should also explicate the reasons behind Soviet historiography's complete falsification of Hrushevs'kyi's life and work.

These flaws add up to an incomplete overview and analysis of works that bear upon the authors' subject in a significant way. In their scholarly research on Hrushevs'kyi's activity, the authors differentiate between two main directions or focuses: (1) the direction of a "positive synthesis of the whole spectrum of M. S. Hrushevs'kyi's activity" (p. 12), and (2) the direction "of a positivist objectification" of the stated problem (p. 16). The first orientation encompasses Lubomyr Wynar and Oleksander Ohloblyn, the second, Nataliia Polonska-Vasylenko, Borys Krupnytsky and Omeljan Pritsak. Such a classification is artificial and inappropriate for an evaluation of the actual status of Hrushevs'kyi studies in the West. The authors are simply unaware of how the discipline of Hrushevs'kyi studies evolved. Undoubtedly, the representatives of the so-called "state school" of Ukrainian historiography examined Hrushevs'kyi's works and activity largely from the standpoint of the ideological position of the Hetmanate movement. I, on the other hand, have held to the principle that Hrushevs'kyi should be neither idealized nor vilified; rather, the multidimensional character of his works and activities should be recreated in an objective and critical fashion. This subject, however, requires a separate discussion.

The subject "Hrushevs'kyi and the academy" should consist of two aspects of research: (1) Hrushevs'kyi's views on the role of the academy in the context of the development of Ukrainian national culture, and (2) Hrushevs'kyi's participation in the establishment and development of a Ukrainian academy of sciences, beginning with its prototypes, the NTSh (Shevchenko Scientific Society) and the UNT (Ukrainian Scientific Society) in Kyiv. The first aspect requires an analysis of Hrushevs'kyi's research devoted to Kyivan scholarly academies, beginning with "Iaroslav's Academy" in the eleventh century—this aspect of the "academy" was not covered by the authors. Also, the second aspect lacks an adequate analysis of the "proto-academy," or the uncrowned Ukrainian academy of sciences, the NTSh, which to the end of his life Hrushevs'kyi considered a de facto "Western Ukrainian academy." He had written that the two institutions, namely the NTSh and the VUAN, "should progress forward in a noble struggle, coordinating their work in the interests of the *narod* (people) and of all of humanity." (Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Z nahody 150-oï knyhy *Zapysok*," *Zapysky NTSh* 150 [1929]: 3). Unfortunately, the authors completely neglected to analyze Hrushevs'kyi's ideas concerning the "Western Ukrainian academy" in 1929. The monograph contains other serious omissions.

The main emphasis of these researchers is placed upon Hrushevs'kyi's activity within the VUAN. Therefore, it is logical that their monograph should specifically refer to this in its title. The monograph also lacks an index. At the least, an alphabetical authors' index should have been included in this important publication.

M.S. Hrushevs'kyi i Academia is undeniably a valuable work, filling many gaps in the extant research on Hrushevs'kyi's work at the Academy. For this, the three researchers should be given credit.

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AKADEMIIA NAUK UKRAÏNY, ARKHEOHRAFICHNA KOMISIIA, INSTYTUT UKRAÏNS'KOÏ ARKHEOHRAFIÏ AN UKRAÏNY, HOLOVNE ARKHIVNE UPRAVLINNIA PRY KABINETI MINISTRIV UKRAÏNY, TSENTRAL'NYI DERZHAVNYI ISTORYCHNYI ARKHIV UKRAÏNY U L'VOVI. U PIVSTOLITNYKH ZMAHANNIAKH. VYBRANI LYSTY DO KYRYLA STUDYNS'KOHO (1891–1941). Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993. 768 pp. ISBN 5-12-003999-5.

Kyrylo Studyns'kyi (1868–1941) is regarded as one of the most prominent representatives of Ukrainian intellectual life at the turn of the nineteenth century. Born in Galicia, he studied in L'viv, Vienna and Berlin, and in the years 1897–1899 gave lectures on the history of Ukrainian literature in the Philosophy Department of the Jagiellonian University. From 1900 to 1918 he was professor at the University of L'viv. He was a member of numerous cultural and educational organizations (including the Prosvita Society), contributor to Ukrainian newspapers and scholarly periodicals, and one of the organizers and defenders of the Ukrainian school system.

In his capacity as a scholar and academic teacher, Studyns'kyi became involved in political activity. In 1893 he was elected deputy to the central parliament in Vienna, and in the years 1905–1914 he joined the School Council in autonomous Galicia. The fulfilment of these functions offered an opportunity for appearing as a spokesman for Ukrainian national interests, especially in the realm of education, scholarship, and culture. This patriotic stand led to his incarceration by the Polish authorities (1918–1919).

In the inter-war period, the activity pursued by Studyns'kyi exceeded purely professional issues. In the 1920s he was a member of a commission established by the Polish authorities to deal with the opening of a Ukrainian university. The work of the commission ended with a complete fiasco brought about by the government's policy. The problems connected with the functioning of the commission, described in detail by historians, were a highly instructive illustration of the obstacles encountered by Ukrainian scholarly and cultural life in the Second Republic.

In 1923 Studyns'kyi was elected chairman of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, a function he held until 1932. At the same time, he established close contacts with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, becoming a member in 1924. This cooperation was interrupted in 1933, when Studyns'kyi (similarly to other Ukrainian scholars abroad) was deprived of the title of academician. Nonetheless, it foreshadowed the situation that took place several years later, following the annexation of Eastern Galicia by the Soviet Union. Studyns'kyi, nominated at the time pro-rector of L'viv University, was one of the organizers of elections to the People's Assembly of Western Ukraine, and in 1940 became a member of the Supreme Soviet and a city councillor in L'viv.

Yet another fact in the biography of Studyns'kyi appears to be particularly worthy of attention. He proved to be a devoted collector of correspondence, documents, printed matter, and other testimonies of the Ukrainian past and present. This varied collection has fortunately survived, and at present is kept in the Ukrainian Central State Historical Archive in L'viv. It is composed of 520 units, of which a considerable part (205 units) includes correspondence.

Studyns'kyi himself put the collection in order and arranged it according to authors, deciphering illegible names, adding dates to undated letters, etc. This epistemological archive encompasses almost 6,000 letters written by 1,300 persons, most of whom

belonged to the elite of Ukrainian intellectual life: scholars, men of letters, artists, teachers, journalists, students, and the clergy. There are also letters from Czech, Polish, German, Austrian, French, and Russian scholars and (much rarer) certain well-known politicians.

The compilers of the book under review selected 710 letters from the collection. They omitted correspondence addressed to Studyns'kyi by various offices and institutions, and as a result the majority of the published material is of a personal nature. The factor decisive for the inclusion of a given item was its content, and not the author. Consequently, the selection almost totally lacks letters containing superficial pleasantries, and the purpose of the presented correspondence is to illustrate the more general problems of Ukrainian life in various historical periods. It would be difficult, on the other hand, to recreate upon this basis the course of the discussions held by Studyns'kyi with other scholars throughout the years, or the history of his intellectual friendships. By way of example, the archive includes 335 letters written by Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi of which the book cites eight; there are 250 extant letters from Bohdan Lepkyi (ten are published), 397 from Fedir Savchenko (the book presents nine), and so on. Presumably, Studyns'kyi's correspondence with the great figures in Ukrainian intellectual life will become the topic of separate publications.

The greater part of the material refers to a widely comprehended domain of public life, connected with the interests of Studyns'kyi himself and his functions. Letters from the years 1892–1893, for instance, reflect his efforts to win a parliamentary chair, while those from 1905–1914 frequently mention the question of Ukrainian schools in Galicia; some of the correspondence from the 1920s pertains to the creation of a Ukrainian university as well as the work pursued by the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Letters dating from 1914–1918 depict the experiences of young people drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army as well as the mood prevalent among the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. In 1918–1919 Studyns'kyi wrote to his compatriots incarcerated in Polish prisons, while correspondence from 1922–1925 contains information about the economic situation in Soviet Ukraine (Studyns'kyi was involved in a relief campaign for the victims of famine). The 1939–1941 period is reflected in an interesting although highly specific manner—requests for aid or support which allude to the tide of repression in Western Ukraine are accompanied by letters whose anonymous authors declare their joy in the fact that these terrains have become part of "the fatherland of the international proletariat."

U pivstolitnyx zmahanniakh. Vybrani lysty do Kyryla Studyns'koho can serve as an excellent chronicle of events which took place at various stages of Ukrainian life. It also illustrates the evolution of the moods and attitudes of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. From this point of view, the case of Studyns'kyi himself is extremely interesting and to a certain extent characteristic. A Christian Democrat in his youth, in the 1920s he adopted a pro-Soviet stance which met with various hostile reactions (in 1929 he was assaulted in L'viv by young Ukrainian nationalists). Neither personal experiences nor the Stalinist terror of the 1930s put a halt to his evolution. This is why from 1939 to 1941 Studyns'kyi, who never became a true communist, was entrusted with responsible political functions which officially supported the occupation of Western Ukraine by the Soviet Union.

The correspondence addressed to Kyrylo Studyns'kyi has been published with great care. The letters are arranged in chronological order, Ukrainian translations have been made of foreign-language texts (although it would seem more suitable to have also retained the original versions), and the compilers have prepared brief biographical notes. The absence of footnotes is partially justified by purely technical aspects, consid-

ering that the volume is already almost eight hundred pages long. All told, we have received an exceptional publication which every historian dealing with the modern history of Eastern Europe will find fascinating.

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UKRAÏNA 20–50-KH ROKIV: STORINKY NENAPYSANOÏ ISTORIÏ. By *Iu. I. Shapoval.* Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993. 350 pp.

LIUDYNA I SYSTEMA. SHTRYKHY DO PORTRETU TOTALITARNOÏ DOBY V UKRAÏNI. By *Iu. I. Shapoval.* Kyiv: Instytut natsional'nykh vidnosyn i politolohiï Natsional'noï Akademiï Nauk Ukraïny, 1994. 270 pp.

Much has been written on Ukraine under Stalin. Soviet historians have been silent on many critical issues. Western scholars, drawing on Western archival material, periodicals, personal accounts, and other historical documents, have done better. Yet there have been many issues that could not be answered without access to vital archives in the Soviet Union, particularly the former KGB archives. Glasnost and perestroika and finally the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union opened the doors of the formerly closed archives. Shapoval's books are among the first academic works coming from Ukraine that utilize archival sources extensively.

Ukraina 20–50-kh rokiv is an expanded and revised version of a series of articles Shapoval published in *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* in 1990–1992. It very nicely complements the classic by Hryhorii Kostiuk, *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine. A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror (1929–39)* (1960), and provides more. Shapoval concentrates on the political history of Ukraine under Stalin by using documents only recently declassified, including those from the former KGB archives. He analyzes both the famous affairs (the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, Ukrainian National Center, Ukrainian Military Organization, All-Ukrainian *Borotbist* Center, etc.) and not-so-famous ones. He also discusses repressions against the Jews, a subject not permitted even at the time of Khrushchev's thaw.

Shapoval convincingly shows that the victims of Stalinist terror were innocent (although in post-war Western Ukraine armed struggle against the Soviet government continued for several years). This did not mean, however, that there was no open or covert resistance to Stalinism in pre-war Soviet Ukraine. In fact, Moscow feared that hidden "enemies" were legion in Ukraine, and applied repressive measures continuously. Moscow was determined to deprive Ukraine of statehood and transform it into a "province of the Stalinist empire."

This book tends to support the Western historiography on Ukraine under Stalin rather than revise it in any substantial way. The new information and data in this book confirm the speculations of Kostiuk and others based on what was available in the West. Shapoval's meticulous documentation makes the book very useful to other scholars.

Shapoval also steps into the fray over the question of the number of the victims. Shapoval chides extreme camps that over- or underestimate the terror. Using data that

are still fragmentary, he tentatively estimates that ten million residents of Ukraine were repressed, including the victims of the 1932–1933 famine. Whether his estimate proves more or less accurate than others has yet to be demonstrated. All in all, this book is a must for any student of the political history of Soviet Ukraine.

Liudyna i systema is a collection of essays, many of which have been published in newspapers and journals. It is less academic, with very few documentary references. Yet it makes for absorbing reading.

The first selection introduces many previously unknown documents from the archives. The section on the military operations by internal troops and the secret police in Western Ukraine after its liberation from the Germans is particularly good. The brutality of the operations has long been known; still, it is quite chilling to read of so many killings (often committed under the influence of intoxication) of innocent people alleged to be Ukrainian nationalists. Often the killers were also people with Ukrainian surnames. The Soviet documents quoted here show not only the brutality of the killings, but also their political dubiousness. The internal police and the secret police engaged in numerous provocations: they disguised themselves as members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and committed various acts of violence. Sometimes the provocation of the police caused confusion in their own ranks and ended in the killing of their own agents. Other times the creation of Ukrainian nationalist detachments by Soviet agents went out of control. (This reminds one of the history of police socialism.) Kyiv also feared that provocations by their agents gave the Western Ukrainian population an exaggerated sense of the UPA's real strength.

The second section on the fates of individuals is also very good. The essay on P. O. Khrystiuk, the author of the famous *Zamitky i materialy do istoriï ukraïns'koï revoliutsiï, 1917–1920 rr.* (long barred to Ukrainian historians), documents that Khrystiuk perished in 1941 in his second term in the Gulag. More chilling is the essay on O. Ia. Shums'kyi, a former *Borot'bist* and People's Commissar of Enlightenment whose policy came to be branded as "Shums'kyism." Shums'ky's wife was executed in 1937, but he somehow survived the terror period in prison. His death in Saratov in 1946 is somewhat mysterious. It was believed to be a natural death. Recently a suicide version has been proposed by historians. Even his file in the KGB archive simply states that Shums'kyi died a sudden death on his trip back to Ukraine. As it turns out, he was killed by the secret police. (This episode is discussed, more fully than in Shapoval's book, by Pavel Sudoplatov, a former Soviet spymaster, in *Special Tasks* [1994].)

Shapoval's book also contains stories on S. O. Iefremov, Petliura, M. Ie. Slabchenko, M. Volobuev, M. O. Skrypnyk, Khrushchev, Kaganovich, and Kyrychenko. They all read well and are very useful.

No one in the West imagined only a few years ago that this kind of book could be written in Ukraine. These books represent an astonishing achievement by Ukrainian historians in the past few years.

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REPTILE JOURNALISM: THE OFFICIAL POLISH-LANGUAGE PRESS UNDER THE NAZIS, 1939–1945. By *Lucjan Dobroszycki.* Trans. by *Barbara Harshav.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994. xi, 199 pp. + 1 map, 6 b/w plates, index. ISBN (cloth) 0-300-05277-4. $22.50.

Reptile Journalism is a fascinating, unique work which has not lost any of its value in the three decades since the State Scholarly Publishing House of Poland summarily rejected it for publication, with one reviewer arguing that it might be a veiled critique of the post-war Polish press. After leaving Poland in 1969, Dobroszycki saw his research vindicated as the book appeared in German, published by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte. With this eminently readable translation by Barbara Harshav, Yale University Press has now made this important work accessible to the English reader.

The most interesting aspects of Dobroszycki's work are the discussions of why Poles read this press and what they understood from its contents. He demonstrates that, contrary to popular opinion, the Nazi-sponsored press enjoyed a relatively high circulation, if only for the reason that it was the sole source of local and (albeit heavily censored and altered) international news. The Polish underground attempted to organize limited boycotts of these organs, but met with little cooperation from the public—possibly, argued Dobroszycki further, due to the risk of standing out by not purchasing newspapers at newstands. The editorial staffs of these papers were composed almost entirely of Germans or *Volksdeutsche*; Poles were used primarily in translating articles from the German news agency and compiling local news. The Department for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, assigned the task of organizing this press in the *Generalgouvernement*, had a staff in 1941 of 117 Germans, 21 *Volksdeutsche*, 3 Poles and 2 Ukrainians. On the local level, German editors Polonized their names in the masthead: Heinrich Kwilitsch, for example, became Henryk Kwilecki.

Skeptical of the Nazi bias, Poles learned to read the text carefully for more accurate news. Especially after Stalingrad, there was little illusion about what was meant by phrases like "planned front curtailments" and "the elasticity of the front." Despite this healthy cynicism, contemporary accounts allude to the corrosive effect of the Nazi propaganda barrage. The Holocaust is never mentioned, although antisemitic articles appear regularly. Dobroszycki's analysis extends to the "pseudo-underground" press, Nazi imitations of anti-Nazi organs. These papers openly criticized Nazi policy in order to gain legitimacy, then argued for greater cooperation with the occupying authorities in order to stave off the greater threat of the Red Army. *Reptile Journalism* clearly illustrates the implementation of the 1939 agreement between the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and the Wehrmacht: "Propaganda is recognized as an essential means of war, equal to the armed struggle" (p. 11).

Unfortunately, Dobroszycki did not discuss the Ukrainian-language press, although recent studies by John-Paul Himka ("'Krakivs'ki visti' pro ievreïv, 1943 r.: Prychynok do istoriï ukraïns'ko-ievreis'kykh vidnosyn pid chas druhoï svitovoï viiny," unpublished manuscript recently published in English translation in *the Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 21:1/2) and myself ("This is the Way it Was! Textual and Iconographic Images of Jews in the Nazi-sponsored Ukrainian Press of Distrikt Galizien," unpublished manuscript) have confirmed the value of Dobroszycki's analysis. The book strangely lacks a bibliography, although the copious notes are filled with references to primary sources. All in all, this work is essential for those interested in the period of the Nazi occupation and for students of propaganda in general.

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THE BREAD OF AFFLICTION: THE FOOD SUPPLY IN THE USSR DURING WORLD WAR II. By *William Moskoff.* Soviet and East European Studies: 76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 256 pp. + 12 photos, 2 drawings, index, bibliography. ISBN (cloth) 0-521-37499-5.

Food had an enormous impact upon Soviet internal affairs from the time of the revolution to the dissolution of the USSR. An abiding underlying aspect of the life of a Soviet citizen was the struggle to find adequate food, at times to remain alive, and then to secure a balanced diet to maintain health. The Soviet Union suffered a horrible political famine in 1921–1922 that killed at least nine million people, a disastrous man-made anti-agrarian famine in 1932–1933 that killed at least five million people, and a brief but devastating genocidal famine in 1946–1947 that killed at least two million people. At the time of Stalin's death in 1953, food riots were common in many cities. Khrushchev directed the Virgin Lands Program in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, designed to provide more bread and meat for urban dwellers. Brezhnev, in the 1970s, stressed the need for a more diverse and better balanced diet for all Soviet citizens. Gorbachev helped implement the "New Food Program" in the 1980s, a plan to provide everyone in the country with a diet comparable to the diet of an average American. Most students of Russian and Soviet history, geography, economics, and political science have knowledge of occasional acute food problems during the seventy-five year period of the Bolshevik-directed "dictatorship of the urban proletariat" in the USSR. Few have a real understanding of the grim deprivation and debilitating hunger imposed by World War II upon an average Soviet citizen, and only a segment of these few comprehend how the central authorities and ordinary citizens lived through this horrendous ordeal.

William Moskoff has written a fascinating and compelling book that provides great insights into how the Soviet Union fed itself during World War II after Germany invaded and occupied the country's major food-producing areas. The book begins with a very interesting foreword written by John H. Hazard, acknowledgements, and list of abbreviations. Then Dr. Moskoff sets the stage in a well written and stimulating introduction that stresses a common theme in the lives of Soviet citizens: the struggle for food to survive. He notes in chapter 1 that the unrelenting shortage of food faced by all after the catastrophic Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, was directly linked to the prewar collectivization of agriculture. In chapter 2, he emphasizes the absence of any plan to supply food to the citizens of the USSR prior to the German invasion and the government's desperate attempts to gather foodstuffs from areas that could not be defended. The German occupation and decisions to not adequately feed the fifty to sixty million citizens under its control are detailed in chapter 3.

Producing food for those living in the unoccupied portion of the USSR is described in chapter 4. The Soviet government's intentional shift from the prewar policy of reliance on the central distribution of food to a wartime policy of reliance upon local food supplies is outlined in chapter 5. With food in very short supply, however, decisions had to be made on how to distribute this food and on who was to receive it; chapter 6 identifies feeding the armed forces as the first priority and details how this task was accomplished. Feeding the cities and towns employing a rationing system is described in chapter 7, as is the attempt to achieve an equitable distribution of severely limited food supplies. However, the disintegration of the Soviet economic system led to "white and black markets" which acted as safety valves for civilian food supply. Chapter 8 explores how private food markets worked during the war, and chapter 9 details "food crimes" and the injustice of "political privilege" in food allocation. Al-

though there was mass hunger and some starvation in the unoccupied cities, none approached the unbelievable horror of famine in Leningrad. Dimensions of famine in Leningrad are examined in chapter 10, and this tragedy can be attributed in part to Stalin's attitude toward the city and its people. Restoring the food supply in newly liberated areas is critically reviewed in chapter 11, but the joy of emancipation was mitigated by the harsh reality of more hunger and famine in 1946 and 1947. The direct and indirect consequences of wartime food shortages are detailed in chapter 12.

Few were spared the ramifications of long-term food deprivation. Dr. Moskoff synthesizes all twelve chapters in a short conclusion. He asks the question again, and again "Could the central regime have done more to feed the population?"

This is an excellent piece of work. Many authors have reported on the serious food problems that existed prior to, during, and after World War II. Beginning with an article published in *Ecology of Food and Nutrition* (1971), entitled "Man-Made Famines: Some Geographical Insights From an Exploratory Study of a Millennium of Russian Famines," and continuing in "The Geography of Famine" (1980), through twenty-two articles and a monograph on *The New Soviet Food Program, 1982–1990: Prospects and Ramifications* (1988), and *World Hunger and Famine* (1995), I stressed the significance of food in Soviet internal affairs and the problems of food production in Russia and the Soviet Union. Dr. Moskoff has honed in on an aspect of food history neglected in the literature. In this fine work, he documents a people's attempt to save their homeland in the face of grim deprivation and of famine. One of the book's great features is the author's primary sources. He augments his years of research in critical archives with interviews with emigres who survived the war. This book is a must for anyone interested in food and food problems in the USSR and in the impact of war upon a civilian population. It is well written and well documented. Maps would have enhanced the work, and additional photographs might have brought the message to the reader more forcefully. It is a ground-breaking book and one whose significant message extends beyond those who have an interest in Russia, the Soviet Union, and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

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UPA V SVITLI NIMETS'KYKH DOKUMENTIV. Edited by *Peter J. Potichnyj*. Litopys Ukraïns'koï Povstans'koï Armiï vol. 21. Toronto: Litopys UPA, 1991. $20.00.

This is an important, timely, thorough and truly scholarly work. It was prepared by Omelian Antonovych and Dmytro Zlepko on the basis of their study of archival documents pertaining to the struggle of the Ukrainian national elite in the two factions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-B and OUN-M) for a sovereign and united Ukrainian state during World War II. This struggle was waged against two giant militaristic states, fascist Germany and the bolshevik USSR.

As editors, Evhen Shtendera and Peter J. Potichnyj have arranged the archival materials in chronological order. This permits the reader to easily grasp the continuity of strategy and tactics practiced by the OUN-B and OUN-M. The German documents are provided in the original language, with résumés in English and Ukrainian. The book is illustrated with photographs of OUN activists. Its sponsors deserve thanks for its fine format, high-quality paper and pleasing cover design.

The chief value of *UPA v svitli nimets'kykh dokumentiv* is that it collects archival documents illustrating the independence struggle waged by nationally conscious Ukrainians and the OUN, despite their internal conflicts. It fills the blank spots in the history of this battle against the occupying powers and counters the assertions of Soviet pseudo-historians that the OUN-B and OUN-M collaborated with the fascist occupation regime.

The book would have been more convincing, however, if the authors had provided photographs of certain documents (e.g., nos. 54, 56, 65, 72, 77), as they did with reference to the search by German police for Mykola Lebed'. The book's accessibility to a broad readership would also have been enhanced if the authors had provided Ukrainian translations—rather than simple résumés—of the documents.

On the whole, *UPA v svitli nimets'kykh dokumentiv* is an impressive and invaluable contribution to recent Ukrainian history. It should be republished, in a longer print run, in Ukraine, so that it might reach pupils and university-level students, as well as public libraries and village reading-rooms. It should be found on every history teacher's desk.

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THE HOLOCAUST IN THE SOVIET UNION: STUDIES AND SOURCES ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWS IN THE NAZI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF THE USSR, 1941–1945. Edited by *Lucjan Dobroszycki* and *Jeffrey S. Gurock*. With a foreword by *Richard Pipes*. Armonk, New York and London, England: M. E. Sharpe, 1993. xii, 260 pp., index. ISBN (cloth) 1-56324-173-0. $59.95 cloth. ISBN (paper) 1-56324-174-9. $24.95 paper.

The articles in this volume originated at a conference at Yeshiva University in 1991. One of the most significant contributions is by Sergei Maksudov, who calculates the number of Jewish deaths in the Holocaust in the Soviet Union according to its pre-1939 borders except for the Caucasus and Central Asia. By skillful analysis, which employs the censuses of 1939 and 1959 and includes an estimated number of Jewish prisoners of war, he arrives at the number of 970,000—that is, a decrease from 2,902,900 to 1,688,000. The number is higher than Raul Hilberg's estimate of 700,000. (The reader is confused for a moment when the word "diminishing" on page 210 is followed by "to," which should be "by.")

Besides Maksudov's study, this reviewer was most impressed by three studies which are not specifically about the killing process, but about the period preceding it and/or its postwar evaluation. Jan Gross studies the widely held notion that in 1939–1941, "the Jews" in western Ukraine and western Belarus welcomed and willingly supported Soviet rule there. He finds that the crowds who welcomed the Red army in these territories of the Polish state consisted mainly of young people, and that among them there were indeed relatively many Jews, besides Ukrainians and Belarusans. He explains the presence of Jews in these crowds by their relief at not finding themselves under the Nazis, as well as by the traditional desire of Eastern European Jews for some kind of central authority which could offer protection. In addition, Gross argues, many of the young Jews were pleased with the introduction of a social system which, however

destructive, offered them a way out of traditional, isolated Jewish community life. On the other hand, he finds no evidence to support the view that Jews predominated in the Soviet bureaucracy which was introduced. Instead, he offers the suggestion that the non-Jewish population must have been shocked by even a very small number of Jews in a position of authority, and generalized from the behavior of some of them.

Mordechai Altschuler focuses on the process of escape and evacuation of Jews in the face of the German invasion. For many reasons, many Jews did not move to the east, but in the end the proportion of Jews among the refugees and evacuees in the Soviet hinterland was higher than their proportion in the population of the Soviet Union as a whole. Altschuler ascribes this primarily to most Jews' realization that their fate under Nazism would be worse than that of other Soviet citizens. Another factor—which Gross might dispute—was that Jews were "far" more likely than non-Jews to be associated with evacuated Soviet agencies, bureaucracies, and factories. Zvi Gitelman discusses the way in which Soviet historiography treated and neglected the Holocaust. Contrary to other scholars, he finds no consistency, except for a tendency to place the Holocaust in the context of other crimes of "fascism" and ultimately capitalism. Part of the reason must have been that the Communist Party realized that knowledge of the Holocaust would slow down assimilation of Jews. Further study might take into consideration a book that was probably not yet available to Gitelman: Iu. O. Shul'meister's *Gitlerizm v istorii evreev* (Kyiv, 1990). Of course, in the Soviet Union the distortion and silence about the Holocaust were accompanied by distortion and silence about the "silent majority" of Soviet citizens under Nazi rule. Lukasz Hirszowicz, in his discussion of trials, historiography, and the arts in the Soviet period dealing with the Holocaust, notes this for Yiddish poetry, but it applies to all relevant publications.

The book contains two accounts by Holocaust survivors from Latvia and Lithuania, the latter highly critical of Lithuanian intellectuals under the Nazis, and a study of Transnistria, the land between the Southern Buh and Dniester rivers ruled by Romania. Dalia Ofer argues that Transnistria's uncertain status precluded the formation of a definite Jewish policy. This in turn allowed a relatively high number of Jews to survive. The notion of a lack of planning is contradicted in the beginning of the essay, however, where Romanians and ethnic Germans are called the "planners" of the Holocaust in Transnistria.

Andrzej Zbikowski informs us about a collection of Jewish accounts and memoirs located in the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. Apparently, they contain information about civilian violence and pogroms against the Jews in Western Ukraine in mid-1941 (often preceded by the discovery of bodies of prisoners killed by the retreating NKVD). This research is clearly at the early stages. The article has no references and, moreover, a simplistic table. As Zbikowski himself writes in the main text, Galicia was also inhabited by Poles, but the table mentions only Ukrainians as inhabitants and by implication perpetrators.

David Engel finds that Zionist leaders in Palestine negotiated with a confidant of the Polish prime minister from November 1942 through 1943. The latter, Stanisław Kot, responded to demands for official support for the Jews under Nazi rule with a counter-demand—support for the pre-1939 Polish borders. But Yitzhak Grünbaum did not want to commit to a stance that would antagonize the Soviet leadership. Engel suggests that the episode might indicate that the Zionists of Palestine considered the possibility of emigration from the Soviet Union after the war—which would tip the demographic balance in Palestine in favor of the Jews—of more importance, at least to the cause of Zionism, than the fate of the Jews under Nazi rule.

Lucjan Dobroszycki and Robert Moses Shapiro discuss some of the contemporary sources that have recently become available from formerly Soviet archives and the

Jewish memorial books (*yizker-bikher*). The book also contains an article about the Soviet treatment of Babyn Iar, a note about a discussion between the Soviet ambassador to the United Kingdom and Chaim Weizmann in January 1941, and an article about Jewish officers of the Polish army killed by the NKVD in Katyn. Altogether, the book is a very valuable collection. A final note of a personal nature: I wish the book did not have the horrifying picture of a mass execution on the cover.

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RUSSIA AND THE NEW STATES OF EURASIA: THE POLITICS OF UPHEAVAL. By *Karen Dawisha* and *Bruce Parrott*. Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press. 1994. xx, 437 pp., maps, appendices, index. ISBN 0-521-45262-7 (cloth), ISBN 0-521-45895-1 (paper).

The book under review is written by scholars of great erudition and subtle professional intuition. It was the combination of these characteristics that permitted them to fit detailed information about the first three years of independent development of all the post-Soviet states into one book. Step by step, country by country, event by event the authors draw a picture of the hard process of transition from totalitarian communist regimes to a more democratic and open political order, a market economy, and new forms of international communication.

Some general problems of ethnic policy and interethnic relations in the Russian Empire and the former USSR are outlined in the introduction. The Bolsheviks' socialism is treated here as an epitome of Russian imperial ambitions and stereotypes. "It is particularly ironic," the authors say, "that the Bolsheviks, who proclaimed themselves opponents of all forms of nationalism and prophesied its early disappearance, ultimately became the bearers of a new form of state sponsored Russian nationalism" (p. 8). It becomes evident for the reader that temporary concessions to national elites in some periods of Soviet history were no more than tactical maneuvers of the Bolshevik rulers of the USSR. Even Gorbachev, with his great attempt to revitalize the Soviet system, actually "sought to re-establish Moscow's power over the regional party machines . . . " (p. 18) and proved unable to extend political liberalization into interethnic and interrepublican relations.

The eight chapters that follow are devoted to such problems as the historical legacy and its impact on the present-day transitional process in all the newly independent states; national identity and the ethnic factor in each country as a determinant of its striving for independence and of its internal ethnic policy; the impact of religion; the development of civic culture, democracy, and the institutions of civil society (this process is investigated against the background of a deliberate description of all political events that occurred here during 1991–1993); economic policy and its impact on internal political life and on international relations; and foreign policy and problems of state and international security, including the nuclear factor. All the chapters are constructed according to a common scheme: a statement of theoretical approaches to the particular problem; analysis of the situation in Russia, then in the western newly independent states, and next in the southern ones, and, at last, a conclusion. General conclusions at

the end of the book embrace evaluations of the causes, means, and comparative perspectives of the process of upheaval on the vast Eurasian terrain as well as of the conceivable character of its future interaction with the Western world.

The main characteristic of the book lies in the combination of broad comparative approaches to the subject with very accurate evaluations of political traditions and contemporary political practices in every state. These particular qualities turn the reference work into an almost ideal handbook for those who want to study the upheaval in the newly independent states as a single process with its peculiar pace and its specific national features in each country.

Dawisha and Parrott find the basis for these peculiarities in history, political culture, economic resources, and international standing. History is considered as both process and memory—memory that "is the result of continuous reinterpretation by persons whose attention is guided by contemporary concerns and whose preconceptions frequently shape the 'lessons' they draw from historical episodes" (p. 24). The authors recognize the existence of substantial difficulties in establishing the relative influence of different periods of historical tradition on the present. "Still no assessment of contemporary developments in Eurasia can be complete without reflecting on legacy of the past . . . " (p. 25). To a large extent this legacy determines substantial national differences in the outcomes of seemingly the same processes of post-Soviet transformation. Criticizing imperial ambitions of Russian historians as well as politicians in past and present times, and their interest in the history of the non-Russian peoples, the authors argue that historical views are in flux now in all the newly independent states. The current tendency to rewrite history contains, however, the risk of veering from a russophile interpretation of historical events to a russophobic one that also "oversimplifies past and exalts values that are narrowly nationalistic" (p. 55). If historians and publicists see only positive lessons in the past of their countries, it could bring new problems to national consciousness and inter-ethnic relations. Trying to avoid any one-sided approach, the authors themselves remain in some cases under the influence of russophile interpretations, because of the prevalence of Russian sources. I have noted a few examples of such explanations, and I would like to touch on a couple of them.

The appearance of the so-called Dniester Republic is linked in the book only with the threat of reincorporating Moldova into the Romanian state. Nothing is said about the unwillingness of the Russian-speaking population to study Moldovan after it was declared an official state language. Too cautious, in my view, is the evaluation of some concrete steps made by Gorbachev in the field of inter-national relations. The authors stress a number of his political mistakes which resulted, according to their view, in the break-up of the Soviet Union (p. 20). But it is difficult to agree with their characterization of the referendum initiated by the last Soviet leader in March 1991 as a "carefully worded" endeavor. In fact, it may be easily placed in the general line of the Bolsheviks' attempts to preserve the empire by all means, and Gorbachev, despite all his peculiarities, has shown himself a true communist leader for whom the idea of radical decentralization of power in the USSR seemed unacceptable. Traditional communist hypocrisy showed up in every stroke of the wordy referendum question, as well as in many articles of the made-in-Moscow drafts of a new, presumably voluntary and highly decentralized union treaty. This undermined not only the authority of Gorbachev as a democratically oriented reformer, but the Soviet empire itself.

The intentions of the central powers were denounced at that time not only by the Baltic states' leaders, but also by political analysts, democratic political leaders, and the head of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, Leonid M. Kravchuk. Without the firm negative position of Ukraine with regard to the proposed versions of the union treaty, the parody of a coup in August 1991 would not have occurred and the final collapse of

the Soviet Union would have been postponed. This means that without a careful evaluation of Ukraine's role in the break-up of the Soviet Empire, the picture of that tremendous collapse cannot be full or objective.

There are some other parts of the book concerning Ukraine that seem either too brief or misleading. In most cases, for example, the authors outline the historical legacy of various peoples beginning from medieval times. They speak about Russian historians' and politician's justification of Russian expansion by the disasters inflicted on the country in its early history, about the impact of vast colonization on Russian political identity, and so on. The Mongol era in the life of the Inner Asian peoples is also mentioned. But one cannot find a word about the democratic political institutions that existed in Ukraine at the time of the Cossack Republic or about the Hetmans' autonomy, though this subject would have allowed the authors to reflect on a possible renewal of that tradition at present—in full accordance with their assertion that history influences contemporary development in the form of a "grand governing narrative" that gives people a sense of common roots as well as of common goals (p. 24).

Another striking omission concerns the issue of the so-called "consequences of collectivisation." The authors show unjustified prudence when they avoid the very word "famine" (pp. 37, 39, 50), which designates, of course, not merely "the consequences." It was a deliberate strategy of pacification of recalcitrant Ukrainian, Kazakh and other peasants by unimaginably barbarian methods. Taking into account that other arguable and politically acute questions, like the participation of Ukrainian formations in World War II on the side of Germany, are mentioned twice (with an attempt at adequate evaluation), this omission is difficult to explain.

In most cases, however, the authors manage to maintain the balance of objective approaches, and the book in general may be considered as a model of unbiased analysis. Though the factual data of the book are predominantly taken from other monograph investigations, Dawisha and Parrott have presented a carefully conceptualized, broad vision of the topic with new judgements and conclusions which are both original and theoretically sound. A chronology of events (appendix A), a compendium of leadership and institutional changes in the newly independent states (appendix B), and diagrams representing the ethnic composition of the population in all-Union or autonomous republics of the former USSR (appendix C), as well as six maps (on pages xii–xx), fortunately supplement this encyclopedic book, making it more comprehensible and attractive for readers.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNIST SYSTEMS: ECONOMIC REFORM SINCE THE 1950s. By *Bernard Chavance*. Trans. by *Charles Hauss*. Social Change in Global Perspective. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994. 212 pp. + bibl., index. $54.95 (cloth), $19.95 (paper).

The importance of this book lies, among other things, in the link between its historical account of failed economic reforms in the one-party totalitarian regimes of the centrally planned system, and current perspectives for the introduction of market transformations in the post-totalitarian space.

Bernard Chavance provides an in-depth analysis of the institutional base of the socialist Stalin-type economy which boils down to two major heterogeneous principles: overall state ownership in the economy, and a single-party system in political life. The combination of these principles produced terror, which was the cement of totalitarian society. In fact, the existence of these principles is a logical explanation of the earlier economic reform failures in the Soviet bloc countries, since the principles remained unchanged. Now, in the post-Soviet space, when terror has disappeared, we are witnessing events of true historical and revolutionary significance.

The author presents clear, concise, and very interesting logical analyses of the three waves of reforms in the socialist countries from the 1950s to the time when most of the regimes collapsed, the beginning of the 1990s.

The first reform began in the early 1950s in Yugoslavia as an attempt to defend the country from further Stalinization, while in the other socialist countries—Poland, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic to some extent—the first reform attempts were aimed at de-Stalinization. Thus, the first wave of reforms sought to erode the role of centralized planning. But only Poland undertook a real attempt to reform the existing system of economic management. The first attempt failed shortly, since nobody at that time could seriously challenge the domination of one-party rule. This wave was smashed by Soviet armor in Hungary in 1956.

The second attempt was undertaken in the 1960s virtually in all the Soviet bloc countries. The failing economies of the socialist countries forced even the Soviet Union to try to introduce some reorganizations. In 1968 Czechoslovakia, like Hungary more than a decade earlier, challenged the one-party monopoly. The decade ended, in fact, with a general departure from economic reforms in Central and Eastern Europe. Hungary was the only exception from this retreat. This country, having learned painful lessons, kept on implementing its New Economic Mechanism quietly and discreetly, paying lip service to the one-party monopoly.

It took the Soviet bloc more than a decade to recuperate after the two unsuccessful waves of economic transformations. The third wave, as we now know, was a success in many ways. It began in the early 1980s in Poland with the rise of the independent trade union Solidarity. The events in Poland were followed by demands for more radical economic reforms in the other Eastern European countries. The demands were followed by actions.

The author does not forget China, which has been developing in its own way for a number of decades. Nevertheless, its communist leaders realized the fatal dangers of "stabilization" of the socialist system and introduced a number of market-oriented transformations in many spheres of their economy, especially in agriculture. They achieved a series of important economic improvements, despite the preservation of a communist party monopoly in political life. But the example of China deserves more attention and far deeper scholarly research.

The third wave was successfully completed in 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and, most importantly, with the downfall of the one-party monopoly in the Soviet space. In the introduction to his book, Bernard Chavance remarks that the cold war is over, capitalism has won, and its adversary has disappeared through conversion. While the first two points are well taken, the "adversary" is still alive. Moreover, it is very active and even aggressive in a number of the newly independent states which have recently emerged in the Soviet space. In these states, a true democratization requires simultaneous and radical market reform transformations. Even if mistakes are minimal, which is not the case in the Eastern European countries, the process of economic reforms itself brings a certain instability into a society. The process of economic reforms

in this region has been accompanied by numerous bad mistakes which have produced deep economic dislocations and a dramatic decline in living standards. Under those circumstances, a nostalgia emerges for the more orderly period of totalitarian regimes, especially in the minds of the less educated strata of society.

The Transformation of Communist Systems sets out to analyze why all the attempts at economic transformation of communist systems failed. The author argues his case with skillful persuasion. However, the analysis stops at the most intriguing period of post-communist economic transformations. Bernard Chavance would have made an important contribution by writing one more good book discussing the reasons for economic reform problems and failures in contemporary Eastern European countries.

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SVIETO: CELEBRATING UKRAINIAN CANADIAN RITUAL IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA THROUGH THE GENERATIONS. By *Robert B. Klymasz*, edited by *Radomir B. Bilash.* Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, Historic Sites and Archives Service, Occasional Paper No. 21, March 1992. ix + 255 pp., list of figures, foreword, preface, appendixes, selected bibliography.

This monograph dealing with Ukrainian-Canadian ritual consists of the following sections: Introduction (General Theoretical Approach, Method of Procedure and Research Goals); Old World Variables in a New World Setting (I. Climate, II. Population Density, III. The Calendar of Customs and Celebrations, IV. Religion and the Church); Selected Case Studies/A Tradition Remembered (V. The Folklore of Peasant Immigrants and Pioneering Farmers, VI. Folklore and Other Non-Farming Pursuits); The Folklore Complex and Mosaic (VII. The Folkloristic Implications of Dislocation, VIII. Compensatory Mechanisms and Shifts, IX. Diversity within the Complex, X. From Peasant to Immigrant Folklore).

The monograph also contains a number of appendices (one is a questionnaire dealing with the folklore of East Central Alberta between 1890 and 1930, another one provides a list of informants, a third is in the form of a glossary, and a fourth consists of maps), a selected bibliography, and a list of figures.

In his preface, the author distinguishes between what the intention of his investigation is and what it is not. Thus, Klymasz states that "the report that follows does not seek to present an inventory, collection or outline of Ukrainian folk customs, beliefs and rituals in East Central Alberta," as "the instability of the Ukrainian folklore complex as it existed before 1930 in Alberta precludes the kind of descriptive ethnography . . . [of] . . . a firmly established folk tradition" (p. ix). What the report is intended to do is establish "the tradition's response to change and the mechanisms that triggered this response" (p. ix).

It is fair to say that Klymasz's study is unique, because no other publication on this specific topic has seen the light of day. Most works dealing with Canadian Ukrainian folk customs and festivities were published in newspaper articles, memoirs, and local histories (such as the *Vegreville Observer*, Nimchuk's *Pochatky orhanizatsiinoho zhyttia kanadiis'kykh ukraïntsiv: Spomyny albertiis'koho pionera*, or *Pride in Progress—Chipman, St. Michael–Star and Districts*), providing in the majority of cases

very superficial accounts of customs and traditional activities. Some consisted of studies dealing with Old World traditions as described in Mytropolyt Ilarion's *Dokhrystyians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu*, or even topically more limited compilations such as S. Kylymnyk's five-volume edition *Ukrains'kyi rik u narodnykh zvychaiakh v istorychnomu osvitlenni*. Some Canadian Ukrainian studies on beliefs, customs, and festivities certainly do exist. See, for example, Klymasz's *The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada* or the chapter "Calendar Holidays and the Seasonal Cycle" in M. Lesoway's *The Pylypow House: A Narrative History* (1982). However, they are either much narrower in scope or limited to a specific custom or area. A. Sochan-Marechko's M.A. thesis, "Continuity and Change: An Intergenerational Examination of Ukrainian Christmas Observances in East Central Alberta," 1992, is an example of this tendency.

Just as with other volumes in the Historic Sites Service Occasional Paper series, this publication is "intended for interested specialists rather than . . . for general readers" (p. iv). It also has a much more specific function in that it forms part of the publications devoted to the study of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, a historic site that was acquired by the Province of Alberta, Canada, in 1975 and has been developed to represent the settlement history of Ukrainians in East Central Alberta from 1892 to 1930. Before the various structures that make up "the Village" were brought to their present site, basic research was done about them to see whether the given building indeed represented the historic era that the Village site purported to manifest. Thus, each building was supposed to be researched from the point of view of its land use and structural history, its materials and other artifacts, and its narrative history. This information was to serve those responsible for the management of the site to help in any restoration needed, as well as to function as a source of reference for the tourist guides who interpret the daily lives of the pioneer characters whose houses or buildings these guides represent. Although Klymasz's monograph was not commissioned to illustrate the rituals of Ukrainian families that had resided in specific buildings, the activities researched in it are useful for the general pursuits in era interpretation of many of the structures exhibited on this Canadian Ukrainian open air museum site.

As Klymasz suggests in his introduction to the work, by studying the interviews one is not to expect a compendium of Ukrainian folk customs, beliefs, and rituals. However, the reader will instead learn to comprehend how these Ukrainian traditions adapted to and changed under New World circumstances. The monograph, thus, not only is useful for diachronic ethnographic studies of ethnic customary lore in an Anglo-Canadian environment, but also can serve a practical function, i.e., that of serving as a reference guide for those employees of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village who have been hired as role players to portray the lifestyle of the first four decades of the Ukrainian pioneer era in Western Canada.

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HLUS' CHURCH: A NARRATIVE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AT BUCZACZ, ALBERTA. By *Andrij Makuch*. Historic Sites Service Occasional Paper No. 19. Edmonton, Alberta: Alberta Culture & Multiculturalism, Historic Resources Division, 1989. 102pp. + 31 illus. + bibl., appendices.

Large historical events consist of innumerable "small histories." Without the latter, the former would be but an abstraction. Small history humanizes the flow of historical events and brings them closer to home by relating them to places, people, and their daily life. It is to this latter, indispensable category that this Occasional Paper belongs.

This work is intended as interpretive resource material for the "Hlus' Church," which has been moved from its original location in Buczacz to an open air museum, the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, some eighty miles to the West. It is part of a series of documents published by the Ministry of Culture and Multiculturalism of the Government of Alberta, and should be considered in this context, especially *The Ukrainian Block Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890–1930: A History* (Edmonton: 1985).

Makuch takes a slice in time (aproximately 1928 to 1930) in the life of the church, when the "parish could be said to be in its zenith" (p. 2). He carefully documents in considerable detail various aspects of church life, its administration, maintenance, liturgical life and relations to the established church hierarchy, while more than occasionally relating them to the everyday life of the people. In this, he is very thorough for it is not easy to accumulate as much archival and anecdotal material as he did, especially when working against time: many of his subjects were getting on in age and much of the research material, texts, photographs, artifacts, and even buildings have the disconcerting habit of vanishing irretrievably. Having gone through similar research, this reviewer fully appreciates frustrations and difficulties involved in compiling this material. The illustrations Makuch has provided are particularly interesting in that they show church buildings the way they were at the time. It is an unfortunate fact that, with the recent flood of centennial and jubilee projects, many country churches have been callously "rehabilitated" by recovering them with stucco, which amounts to architectural genocide. It is unfortunate that the few photographs included show the interior of the church after the latinizing changes (p. 92), and none of the old iconostasis.

The choice of the period of study is of particular interest in that it is at the onset of a strong latinizing movement in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Makuch does mention this fact in his rather extensive regional history of the Basilian Order, particularly with reference to conflicts between the church committee and the clergy. It is, however, well illustrated in several other parts of the book as well. To mention but a few examples, the iconostasis, conspicuously absent in the photograph (as mentioned above) is shown in all the diagrams and floor plans throughout the book. The abolition of the procession on Easter day is another example of the Western European emphasis on the material fact of the death of Christ, rather that the mystical belief in His resurrection prevalent in the East.

Not as a matter of criticism, but to situate this paper in its methodological perspective, one should note that research of this type could be done from the experiential viewpoint (as one participating in the life of the group), or from the the positivist perspective (as an anthropologist would study a society in Polynesia or the headwaters of the Amazon). It seems to this reviewer that, Makuch's Ukrainian origin and sympathies notwithstanding, he leans toward the latter and that he lacks a certain empathy with the deeply mystical view of the church that some of the early parshioners were experiencing. The reason for this impression is his pervasive insistence on describing the

action rather than addressing the spiritual meaning of the rites; whatever explanations are present are primarily taken from the words of the respondents and repeated without much critical discernment. Conversely, a number of interesting traditions and rituals are reported without explanation, such as the fact that women stand on the left and men on the right (p. 50) [because the icon of the Mother of God is on the left and that of Christ is on the right side of the iconostasis—BMR], or the use of noise makers or *kalatylky* during the Good Friday procession of the Burial of Christ (p. 79) [because bells are not used on that day as an extreme sign of mourning—BMR].

Of course, no book is without editorial infelicities. Table 4 (p. 47) is confusing because of some displaced bars in the graph. Appendix D, a glossary of Ukrainian words promised in the Table of Contents (p. vii) and in the Preface (p. xii) did not materialize, and neither did Appendix E, Sample Baptismal Records, promised in chapter 5, endnote 90 (p. 98). It would have been beneficial had a map been included to locate Buczacz, and to indicate more precisely where the church has been moved. Moreover, in terms of actual content, a great deal of space is devoted to the history of the Basilian Order, but little is said about the actual history of the parish: what part of Ukraine the founders came from, what village or villages, who donated the land, who designed the church, who built it, how it was financed, and many questions of this nature. It is not conceivable that these data were not in the hands of the author when he was compiling this work. Thus, although the stated aim of this book, to give a snapshot in time for interpretative purposes, has been fulfilled in a fully satisfactory manner, it could have been of much greater value to other researchers had this additional information been included.

On the positive side, reading this book brings to mind some prairie churches this reviewer has investigated, which stand forlorn, as if trapped in time, surrounded by a field of waist-high prairie grass, their bulbs askew, the poplar log bell tower leaning precariously. Inside are some pews from old discarded cinema seats, faded old paper flowers, dusty and discolored old *ruchnyky* (embroidered cloth), and an old cast iron stove salvaged from a railway caboose of an era long gone. It is lucky if such a church can live once again during its *praznyk* (patron saint's day), when the grass is mowed and some descendents of the founders come for the festivities and an annual picnic. Often these churches just stand and gradually turn to dust like the memory of their builders. Thanks to Andrij Makuch and his colleagues, this is not the fate that awaits Hlus' Church, and for this we should be grateful.

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MONUMENTS TO FAITH: UKRAINIAN CHURCHES IN MANITOBA. By *Basil Rotoff*, *Roman Yereniuk*, and *Stella Hryniuk*. Np: University of Manitoba Press, 1990. 197 pages (paper), illustrations, bibliography, index.

This volume straddles the line between popular coffee-table book and scholarly text. *Monuments to Faith* acquaints readers with its theme in an accessible, useful way. The text is broken into four general sections: introduction to Ukrainian religious architecture; Ukrainian architecture as it has appeared in Manitoba; major Ukrainian artists who

have worked in Manitoba; and extensive appendices on the styles, locations of churches, architects, and builders of each Ukrainian religious building in Manitoba.

The introduction to Ukrainian religious architecture is aimed at an audience with no previous knowledge of church architecture, and so is the "beginner's guide" to Eastern Christian building styles. Nonetheless, the material is presented clearly and could be useful for introductory classes in Ukrainian religion or culture. Since it concentrates on the Ukrainian nature of the buildings, the book differentiates little between Orthodox and Catholic styles (although it does acknowledge Byzantine and Western European influences on Ukrainian design).

Having acquainted its audience with the basics of church design and terminology, the bulk of the text describes each Ukrainian church in Manitoba. The book emphasizes regional styles, and so groups churches into various categories: Kyivan Style, Western Ukrainian Mountain Style, and Western Ukrainian Plains Style. Thereafter, the authors illustrate the "Manitoba variations" of traditional Ukrainian designs. In general these were of two types—syncretic combinations of regional styles and the adaption of techniques and materials available in Manitoba (twin towers adorning church facades, for example, became popular, as did prefabricated materials that deviated from traditional form). Some of the more interesting buildings reflect "a particular blend of the place memories of the immigrants who imagined them, the creativity and ingenuity of the people who built them, and the local styles of Manitoba churches of other denominations" (p. 86). A number of monumental churches have been named the "Prairie Cathedral" style, which well describes the effect of a large Ukrainian church rising from the Manitoba fields.

The most incongruous structures are found among "Contemporary Manitoba Churches" (chapter 6). Except for one Orthodox church, all the buildings described in this section are Ukrainian Catholic. This is important, since the designs (including a trapezoidal floor plan) appeared after the relaxation of architectural guidelines following the Second Vatican Council. At this point, more than any other in Ukrainian Catholic history in Manitoba, did churches stop resembling their counterparts in Ukraine. The single Ukrainian Orthodox church shown in this chapter (All Saints, Winnipeg) illustrates how a congregation grafted Orthodox symbolism onto a "standard industrial shell" (p. 104).

The chapter on architects and artists of Manitoban churches gives short biographies and examples of builders, architects, and iconographers. Little distinction is made, however, between Orthodox and Catholic artists or between "traditional" and "Westernized" iconography.

Focused on stylistic interpretation, *Monuments to Faith* sometimes only hints at broader issues of faith in a new world. For example, why were "skilled workers brought to Manitoba for the express reason of demonstrating the craft of traditional church building to young Manitobans of Ukrainian descent" (50)? Did parents fear that children would forget traditional folkways? Had the parents themselves forgotten the way to build a traditional church? Did the experiment bear fruit? What happened to the imported workers (presumably from Ukraine) after they finished the Church of Saint Volodymyr?

For students of architecture and Ukrainian religion in North America, the five appendices to the book may be most useful. The first two, "Guide to Ukrainian Churches" and "Conceptual Scheme of the Evolution of Architectural Styles of Ukrainian Churches," build on the introduction provided early in the text. As each part of a Ukrainian church is described (from "nave" to "proskomedia" to "processional cross"), a shaded area of text defines the term and explains its use. The final three appendices

provide the architects, builders, artists, and locations of each Ukrainian church in Manitoba, always with detailed directions to off-the-beaten-path buildings.

Excellent line drawings and photographs complement and illustrate important ideas throughout the text. The authors include a brief but useful bibliography and index.

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UKRAÏNS'KE TEATRAL'NE VIDRODZHENNIA. By *Natalia Chechel'*. Kyiv: Vidrodzhennia, 1993. 144 pp. ISBN 5-12-003452-7.

Historically speaking, Ukrainian theater is unique in that it continues to exist in spite of its many deaths. Having had no opportunity for continuous theatrical or cultural development, Ukrainian theater has existed as a type of phoenix which, rising out of its ashes, draws on its understanding of its past strengths while inventing itself anew. As the director Les' Kurbas (1887–1937) observes in his correspondence, theater is not like other art forms which, when created, become monuments to themselves. Theater exists as a moment in time, and when that moment is aborted, there is no possibility for future generations to organically draw from that moment's theatricality.

While theater is a three-dimensional art which cannot be perfectly reproduced, especially by two-dimensional media, in this study Natalia Chechel' manages to bring together an insightful and enlightening overview of Ukrainian productions of foreign dramas (tragedies) in the 1920s and 1930s. Beginning with theater in Kyiv in 1918, Chechel' explores the performances of these decades through periodical memoirs, critical writings (articles and reviews), theatrical and social documents, photographs of performances and participants, lecture notes, published and unpublished journals from private and state archives, published and new interviews with actors and audiences of the time, as well as the writings of Kurbas and his early colleague Hnat Iura. This extensive collection is useful not only to students of theater, culture, or history, but also to those who wish to broaden their perspective and understanding of the Ukrainian world-view of the humanities from the turn of the twentieth century to the late 1930s. Artistically speaking, these decades were among the most exciting and innovative times in both Ukrainian and world theater.

Chechel's reconstructive view of theatrical productions of foreign dramaturgy, which include the works of Shakespeare, Molière, Schiller, Hugo, List, Lope de Vega, and Merimée, offers a unique way into the mindset of Ukrainian artists. By presenting the points of view of Ukrainian critics, directors, playwrights, actors, artists, and audiences, *Ukraïns'ke teatral'ne vidrodzhennia* provides a thorough sense of how world dramatic culture was understood by artists in Ukraine, as well as how these artists perceived themselves within this culture.

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STUS IAK TEKST. Edited by *Marko Pavlyshyn*. Melbourne: Monash University Slavic Section, 1992. 91 pp. ISBN 0- 732 0291- 2.

Since the publication of two posthumous collections of his poetry, *Palimpsesty* (*Suchasnist'*, 1986) and *Doroha boliu* (Kyiv, 1990), a fuller picture of the poetic oeuvre of dissident Vasyl' Stus (1938–1985) has begun to emerge. The complete collection of his writings will belatedly become available when the current four- volume publication *Tvory v chotyriokh tomakh* (L'viv: Prosvita, 1994–) reaches readers. The stimulus for this book of essays was provided both by an understanding of the poet's importance and simultaneously by a sense of alarm at the cult that has arisen around his name.

Although the literary assessments have hardly begun, the political myth-making has seemingly instantly assimilated Stus to its requirements. Clichés describing him as a martyr for freedom, the "son of Taras," a genius of the nation, and so on, have to a considerable degree obscured the innovative structures of thought, feeling, and expression for which he deserves to be studied. The five papers in this book attempt to repair, through the injection of a postmodernist and postcolonial perspective, any disservice done to an appreciation of Stus' poetry by his political canonization. They deliberately reach beyond the anticolonial paradigm which has for so long defined the nature of Ukrainian writing, and try to imagine a sensibility freed from the dependencies of opposition.

Tamara Hunderova analyzes the poet as a late modernist who believed in high art's transformative, oppositional role. According to her reading, the possibilities for individualism, intellectualism, and aestheticism within modernism became tools in the struggle against socialist realism's simplifications and the loss of self-awareness it dictated. Marko Pavlyshyn's delightful essay demonstrates both the inescapable pull of the political and the contradictory need to imagine a non-marginalized situation for Ukrainian culture. This desire to "square the circle," as he puts it, defines not only Stus' poetry, but the contemporary condition of Ukrainian literature as a whole. It offers insights that can be appropriated for other writers. In Stus' case one is presented with a double reading of the poet (anticolonial by necessity, postcolonial by desire), a kind of double vision that passes for the normal post-independence reality in today's Ukraine and which is detectable in many contemporary cultural phenomena. Anna Berehuliak examines the role memory plays within Stus' poetry in the preservation of identity; Serhii Sarzhevs'kyi discusses the issue of spiritual endurance; and Petro Savchak deals with the canonization process in Ukrainian literature. Common to all these essays is an awareness of the importance of reception theory. The "Ukrainian publics" run through the commentary. They are a major factor shaping our understanding of the poet and his work. A second major thread linking the discussion is the modernist/postmodernist divide, the sense of a paradigm break that criticism must incorporate into its interpretive work. This treatment enables the critics to examine Stus' poetry from a certain distance, a contemporary retrospective: as a poet who rejected the populist pieties of his day, counterposing to them his faith in modernist high art, but also as a poet who exhibited modernist concerns while already on the cusp of a postmodernist sensibility.

The essays come out of a conference held in June 1991 in Melbourne, which brought the three Australian and two Ukrainian scholars together. Much of the purpose of this conference was to present a challenge to encrusted ways, and it is this partisan intent motivated by new theory that gives the resulting collection its provocative vigor. Although much has changed since the year of independence, the desire to avoid the kind of political canonization of literary figures that puts them beyond reasoned analysis and

the need to incorporate Western theory into criticism, still remain relevant today. Weaknesses in the collection are the occasional genuflection, particularly on the part of Ukrainian critics, before all things Western (as though there were a monolithic contemporary "theoretical" West or some uniformly high standard of criticism), and, as the editor mentions in his introductory statement, the now increasingly anachronistic sense of two worlds conferring, with the Western critics assuming the right to present and interpret contemporary theory. These attitudes are changing as young scholars from Ukraine are allowed to explore previously banned fields and the symbiosis of East and West takes place. And yet, a moment's reflection is enough to recall how much these concerns still dominate contemporary agendas.

The book is a good summary of Stus criticism, with many insights into contemporary problems of reader response and evaluation, and suggestions for new directions in scholarship.

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A HISTORY OF RUSSIAN WOMEN'S WRITING 1820–1992. By *Catriona Kelly*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. 445 pp. + index, bibliography. ISBN 0-19-815872-6. $39.95.

In *A History of Russian Women's Writing 1820–1992*, Catriona Kelly embarks upon an ambitious attempt to chronicle and analyze a wealth of women's literary efforts from the last two centuries. In doing so, Kelly confronts the paucity of material available either in Western or Russian/Soviet sources on women's writing. Because so little attention has been given to this aspect of Russian literary history, the need to lay the foundation for the recognition and appreciation of women authors forms an essential component of the work. Kelly, however, ventures far beyond simple reconstruction of a neglected historical record. Her objective, to examine how Russian women's writing has been perceived, necessitates a framework which analyzes not only the outcome of female literary efforts but also the process of their creation. As women writers defined themselves and, significantly, were defined, the sometimes fluctuating constructs of the patriarchal context sharply affected both process and product. This work traces women's "own strong and diverse [literary] traditions" (p. 2) in Russia by emphasizing the substantial impact of limitations, expectations, and developing social, political, and economic pressures within the patriarchy of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russia.

Kelly organizes her material into four parts, arranged chronologically from 1820 to 1992. Each part focuses upon a general historical discussion, specific literary developments, and the realm of possibility for women's writing given the tide of broader societal trends. In addition, the author provides case studies to accompany each section. Such individual examples range widely, from fairly well-known to obscure. Kelly, who admits to much enjoyment in discovering little-known female writers, clearly states that she intends to use the case study device to attract interest in these women and their works. Moreover, Kelly uses the device to redress difficulties particularly in Western critiques of Russian women's writing. As in the example of Marina Tsvetaeva, what Western literary analysis has been taken has focused heavily on biography. From the basis, then, of the writer's life, judgements about literary output have presumed connec-

tions between life experience and art. Kelly emphatically denies that Russian women's writing simply echoes life experiences. Her contention is that this literature is far richer because it refracts, rather than reflects, experiences (p. 7). Overall, in her organizational scheme, the author aims to create a way by which to perceive a "context-sensitive feminist criticism developing" (p. 14).

In delineating four periods for investigation, Kelly warns that "... the history of women's writing should not be interpreted as a steady and inevitable progress towards greater and greater achievement" (p. 4). In fact, the road appears strewn with obstacles and even reversals. This point becomes quite obvious throughout the book. During the Romantic period, while women emerged as important figures in writing, only certain topics and vehicles were thought appropriate for women. Writing increasingly was thought of as a manly occupation, charged with real-world concerns beyond the domestic sphere. Indeed, Kelly argues that women's creativity was severely questioned, and that this had constricting consequences for their mode of expression. The author declares "... inspiration as a masculine phenomenon was accompanied by a growing insistence that women were inherently incapable of the effort of imagination involved in the composition of poetry" (p. 41).

Such legacies came to color the following periods. The years from 1881 to 1917 represented, according to the author, a time when social upheaval in Russia provided some opportunities for debate on the place of women in wider society and in literary pursuits. While limitations persisted, women also broadened their concerns to new topics like sexuality, work, and class. In general, Kelly portrays this as a period when "niches" emerged for women's writing whereby, within certain confines, such writing attained a measure of originality and contributed to the development of a women's tradition in literature for the future.

With the coming of Bolshevik control after 1917, Russian women and women writers discovered some liberation from traditional constraints. Kelly asserts, however, that much of the post-revolutionary period was influenced by a deep-seated gender bias within Bolshevik ideology and activity. Furthermore, such restrictive, underlying currents were enhanced by the Stalinist emphasis upon traditional values that triumphed by the late 1920s. For Stalin, the woman question had been solved; she was to be the indefatigable worker, wife, and mother. Women writers also discovered that few opportunities existed for them with the enshrinement of Socialist Realism and control over the literary profession by the male-dominated Union of Soviet Writers. Such circumstances forced many women writers into internal and external exile, producing often for their own "desk drawers." The Stalinist period represented a point of pressure for women's transformation into superwomen and a point of denial of women's expression as writers. Kelly, in concluding her comments on Olga Shapir, a prominent author of the late nineteenth century, indicates the achievement that this woman's works represent. Such a position for women's writing subsequently fell prey to Stalinist cultural dictates. The impact was far-ranging, as Kelly asserts:

> These two stories [by Olga Shapir] are amongst the most significant contributions made by Russian women writers in the late nineteenth century realist tradition. They indicate how much has been lost with the systematic effacement and obliteration of the Russian feminists' achievements from literary history and from artistic practice. With knowledge of this tradition, the thematically and technically comparable (though ideologically less sophisticated) feminine version of critical realism which developed in the 1960s would have been able to build on this history, rather than repeating it, and could have taken heart from the achievements of the past, rather than succumbing to anxious doubts about the necessary inferiority of women's writing. (p. 193)

In the final section, dealing with the period from Stalin's death to the 1990s, the author evidences real passion in discussing the failures of the Soviet Union and the demand for a return to traditional gender roles. Kelly argues that women, so pressured to assume the superwomen roles of the past era, are perceived to have become "masculinized." As Kelly somewhat indignantly suggests, Russian men and women in recent years have compounded this situation by misperceiving the nature of Western feminism. This movement, too, is seen as advocating the "masculinization" of women. Reactions against this have resulted in renewed limitation on acceptable topics and vehicles for women's writing. Moreover, such reactions have affected how all women, and women writers in particular, see themselves and thus, perhaps, have prompted self-imposed limitations upon creativity.

There are weaknesses in Kelly's structure. While the author strongly draws the elements of context at the beginning of each part, her stated intention of sustaining links of context to text is not always as apparent or as thorough as necessary. In places, the emphasis on textual analysis overshadows and even obliterates the broader concerns. In addition, such an approach of text and context and the use of case studies leads, at points, to repetition that can be distracting or even confusing.

Because the context is integral to Kelly's work, it is quite surprising how little attention she pays to the issues of audience and readership. The author acknowledges that such issues do play an important role. She asserts that she uses the scanty evidence available. The difficulty in obtaining such material for the early period covered by the book is understandable. This lack of attention to audience continues, however, throughout the work. While one could argue that more investigation of audience would slant the main thrust of the work, audience, nonetheless, is a crucial component of context. The reader gets very little sense of whether audience had any affect on writers. Did the readership, too, place limits on issues, approaches, and vehicles for women's writing?

One also wonders whether the inclusion of very recent works is as useful as the analysis of earlier materials. Here the author does admit that the fluidity of the recent Russian situation makes possible only tentative analysis. Perhaps an earlier cut-off date, although leaving out the possibilities offered by the demise of the Soviet Union, would benefit the historical judgement of this literary history.

Finally, although this may be relatively minor, the author is much given to parenthetical remarks throughout the text. At times, such remarks prove interesting; at other points, they become intrusive and unnecessary. For example, in dealing with women's forays into erotic literature, the author, declares, "As it happens, far more explicit handling of sexual relations can be found in the work not only (surprise, surprise) of Narbikova's male contemporaries . . . " (p. 384). This method of punctuating her conclusions becomes a distraction.

Despite these shortcomings, this work is an impressive piece of scholarship. The author's use of text and context as the framework by which to illuminate women's writing is both intriguing and generally effective. She has achieved her goal of providing an introduction and basis from which further scholarship may be launched. From this work, one perceives the constraints and independence that have marked the literary efforts of Russian women.

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CHRONICLE

The International Association of Ukrainian Studies and its Congresses

In 1989, due to efforts of the then Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Professor Omeljan Pritsak, a constituent conference of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies was convoked in Herculaneum near Naples, on the slopes of Mt. Vesuvius. It was organized by scholars from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, and the University of Naples. The founding of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies (IAUS) was proclaimed and its Bureau and Committee elected during this session. The First Congress of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies was held in Kyiv between 27 August and 3 September 1990. The principal funding was provided by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. It was the first attempt on such a scale to organize a meeting of scholars from Ukraine and the diaspora. During the plenary sessions of the First Congress Ivan Dziuba and Mykola Žulyns'kyj read their papers. It is significant that those scholars from diaspora who took part in the Congress later became Foreign Members of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences: Omeljan Pritsak, Ihor Ševčenko, George Shevelov, Jaroslav Pelenski, and Orest Subtelny.

Shortly after that the Republican Association of Ukrainian Studies was organized with Ivan Dziuba as President. After he entered state service, Volodymyr Jevtukh, now corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was elected President. An International School of Ukrainian Studies was created. Publication of the "Bulletin of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies" is in progress.

The Bureau of the IAUS decided to convene the next congress in late August 1993 in L'viv. Academician Iaroslav Isaievych, Director of the L'viv Institute for Ukrainian Studies, was confirmed as Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Second Congress of Ukrainian Studies. It was decided that the Institute of Ukrainian Studies would be the host organization. The Organizing Committee took into account the experience of the previous congress. Whereas at the Kyivan congress, scholars of Ukrainian origin prevailed, now it was decided to make every effort also to engage scholars of different nationalities, in particular leading specialists in Slavistics, Byzantine studies, and political science from Europe and America. While the Kyivan meeting had been entitled the "Congress of the IAUS," the L'viv congress accepted a slightly modified title—"Second International Congress of Ukrainian Studies." In this manner, the aspiration to engage not only those who co-operated organizationally with the IAUS and national associations, but everybody connected with Ukrainian studies, was emphasized.

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The Congress was held in the building of the Ivan Franko University of L'viv. About seven hundred scholars from twenty-four countries participated. Eighteen national associations sent representatives. Before the Congress, three volumes of materials and abstracts were published; with four volumes to follow. Special attention was paid to the elaboration of the program. Instead of endless sections difficult to sit out, thematic sessions, or panels, were proposed. It was a new phenomenon in Ukraine, at least in the humanities. Two- or three-hour Congress sessions were held in twelve to fourteen halls of L'viv University simultaneously. The panels were conducted within strictly determined time limits; thus, it was easy to change sessions. Due to this, the organizers succeeded holding 113 thematic panels and 12 round tables, with a total of 470 papers, in three and a half days. Each panel consisted of two or three major papers of twenty minutes each, then one or two planned communications of ten minutes each, and finally a discussion. Such a system allowed for much creative discussion on current problems of the history, culture, and politics of Ukraine. Scholars representing different directions in methodology, theory, and philosophy had a full opportunity to exchange ideas. For the first time on such a broad scale, a pluralism in views on Ukraine's modern problems was demonstrated. In many cases it brought, if not a convergence of views, then at least a better mutual understanding. This was no small accomplishment.

During the solemn opening session, held at the L'viv Opera, greetings from the then President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk were read out. In his message he pointed out, "This is the first scholarly meeting of specialists in Ukrainian Studies on a global scale convoked in independent Ukraine. The rebirth of its statehood has stimulated a vast interest in the history of the Ukrainian people and its legacy in all spheres of spiritual life. The young Ukrainian state is interested in the increased solidity and activity of the humanities and the intensification of their influence upon the political and cultural life of society. It is also natural that the entrance of Ukraine in the international arena will essentially increase its interest to other countries. The independence of our state has enabled us to put an end to the purposely propagated isolation of Ukrainian learning and culture from the world. The cooperation of scholars from different countries, and in particular the activity of the International Association of the Ukrainian Studies, promotes the intensification of research and its integration into world scholarship, and ensures the dissemination of unbiased information about Ukraine and its people in the world. I am convinced that your Congress, which has gathered scholars from all Ukraine and representatives of scholarship from neighboring countries as well as from other countries of Europe, Asia, America, and Australia, will contribute substantially to this cause."

During the plenary sessions the program report of IAUS President George Grabowicz, as well as papers of Academicians Mykola Žulyns'kyj, Ivan Dziuba, Petro Toločko, Ihor Juxnovs'kyj, Iaroslav Isaievych, and Bohdan Havrylyshyn; a representative of the Russian Association of Ukrainian Studies,

Vladimir Volkov; Tsian Chan-Bin from the Chinese Association; Vaclav Židlický from the Czech Association; and Peter Potichnyj from the Canadian Association of Slavic Studies; were heard. Among the most interesting were the papers of veterans of Ukrainian scholarship George Shevelov and Olexa Horbatsch, Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyj Professor of Ukrainian History at Harvard University Roman Szporluk, Lina Kostenko, and such outstanding foreign scholars as András Zoltán (Hungary), David Saunders and Rolf Cleminson (Great Britain), Daniel Beauvois (France), Gianfranco Giraudo (Italy), John Armstrong (USA), Catheline Malfliet (Belgium), Andreas Kappeler (Germany), Vjačeslav Ragojša (Belarus), Henryk Samsonowicz (Poland), and others.

Among the guests of the Congress there were both outstanding scholars and beginners. The themes of their communications covered a broad range of problems—language and literature, the history of Ukraine from the Kyivan state to the present, the place of Ukraine in international politics, and so on. A separate session held in the town of Halyč was devoted to the results of archaeological and historical research on the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. The inaugural session of the Institute of Church History of the L'viv Theological Academy, directed by Harvard graduate Dr. Borys Gudziak, took place within the framework of the Congress. Also interesting were the round tables devoted to cooperation between the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, and to the principles of compilation of the Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Diaspora.

After the Congress a meeting of the representatives of all the National Associations was held and a new Bureau was elected. Iaroslav Isaievych was elected President of the IAUS, and Olexa Myshanyč, Vaclav Židlický, Bohdan Osadchuk, Leonid Rudnytzky, and Wolf Moskovich were elected Vice-Presidents. George Grabowicz (USA), Gianfranco Giraudo (Italy), Volodymyr Jevtukh (Ukraine), Anatolij Ivčenko (Ukraine), Stefan Kozak (Poland), Miroslav Labunka (Germany), Bohdan Medwidsky (Canada), Marko Pavlyshyn (Australia), and Omeljan Pritsak (Ukraine and USA) became members of the Bureau. In accord with the statutes, representatives of the eighteen National Associations joined the Committee of the IAUS.

The newly elected Bureau was charged with focusing its attention, first of all, on preparations for the next congress in Kharkiv and, secondly, on the improvement of scholarly, informational, and bibliographic activity. In particular, it was decided to issue yearly *Ukrainian Studies Abstracts* and to publish a directory of the National Associations of Ukrainian Studies. Thanks to equipment granted by the Ukrainian Studies Fund, a bulletin and guide were prepared for publication, and the second issue of the Bulletin of the IAUS Bibliographic Commission (devoted entirely to the history of Ukrainian music) was published.

Iaroslav Isaievych

The Eighteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies

On 8 through 15 August 1991 the Eighteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies was held in Moscow, organized by the International Committee of Byzantine Studies, the Department of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and the National Committee of Historians of the USSR. Over a thousand scholars from around forty countries took part in the Congress. The working languages of the meeting were French, English, German, Greek, Russian, and Italian. The Congress consisted of twenty-one sections, sixteen colloquia, and fifteen round tables. The most important problems were discussed at the eight plenary sessions.

One of the most interesting and representative sections, which included most of the communications connected with Ukrainian topics, was "Byzantina, Metabyzantina, and Rus′." A number of speakers devoted their reports and communications to the different forms of Byzantino-Ukrainian cultural and economic relations. Jaroslav Ščapov from Moscow ("Old Rus′ under Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople") stressed that Rus′ became a part of the Byzantine cultural area due to ecclesiastical dependence on Byzantium. This made for the creation of masterpieces of art and literature in Slavonic. He also spoke about the lack of interest and unimportant role of Constantinopolitan protégés at the Metropolitan see of Kyiv in the development of local Christian culture and dissemination of the Byzantine rite.

Mykola Kotljar from Kyiv ("Halyč-Volhynian Rus′ and Byzantium in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Real and Imagined Relations") stated that during the period of feudal fragmentation, relations between the two countries were reduced to local contacts between the emperor's throne and the princes of certain lands; one should speak rather about the ecclesiastical contacts. The speaker disproved the legend that the emperor Alexios III Angellos, having fled from his capital on the eve of the Crusaders' conquest of Constantinople, allegedly found asylum in Galicia under prince Roman's protection.

Jana Malingoudi from Thessaloniki ("About the Typological Structure of Byzantine-Rusian Treaties of the Tenth Century") analyzed the texts of treaties from the point of view of diplomatics, comparing them with the agreements between Byzantium and other countries.

Francis Thomson's (Antwerp) communication "Stages in the Assimilation of Byzantine Culture by the East Slavs, Ninth to Seventeenth Centuries" was of special interest. The scholar expressed the interesting thought that cultural divergences between the East Slavs in Muscovy and Lithuania began in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the center of translating activity moved from the South to the East Slavs. Cultural development was more rapid in Lithuania (that is, in Ukraine and Belarus) because the West European influences arrived there earlier; thus, Greek literature was translated (both from the originals and from Latin versions), and the Byzantine spiritual legacy was adopted, earlier than in Muscovy.

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The following scholars also spoke at the section: Petro Toločko (Kyiv)—"The Roman-Byzantine Christian Legacy in Kyivan Rus'"; J. J. Korpela (Finland)—"Priests in Kyivan Rus' before 1125"; V. G. Brjusova (Moscow)—"Defeat or Victory? (On the Rusian-Byzantine War of the 1040s)"; I. O. Knjaz'kij (Kolomna)—"Byzantium, Rus', and Nomads on the Lower Danube in the Ninth through Twelfth Centuries"; V. B. Perxavko (Moscow)—"Trade between Rus' and the Byzantine Danubian Provinces in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries."

A number of communications was devoted to the history and art of St. Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv, in particular to the Byzantine influences in its architecture and wall decorations (K. K. Akent'jev, I. A. Golovan', Ju. A. Korenjuk, N. N. Nikitenko, V. I. Staviskij and Irma Toc'ka), as well as to the Tithes and St. Cyril Churches in Kyiv and the Savior and St. Anthony Caves Churches in Černihiv (Ju. A. Korenjuk, R. Furman, N. Pervuxina, Ju. Ju. Ševčenko, and V. Ja. Rudenko).

The ancient subjects of material culture, crafted under Byzantine influence, were described in the communications of V. Kovalenko (Černihiv)—"A New Chalice from Černihiv of the Fifteenth Century"; I. A. Sterligova (Moscow)—"The Byzantine Liturgical Vessel in Kyivan Rus'"); Natalie Šamardina (L'viv)—"A Processional Cross from Halyč of the Fifteenth Century"; and M. P. Sotnikova (St. Petersburg)—"Byzantine Canon and Rusian Official Seals from the Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries."

Some speakers dealt with the problem of Byzantine influences in the fields of science, philosophy, and religion in ancient Ukraine: Cvetana Xolova (Sofia)—"Byzantine science in the Orthodox Slavic Countries"; R. A. Simonov (Moscow)—"Astrology in Rus': Byzantine Influences and Borrowings"; M. N. Gromov (Moscow)—"Byzantine Sources of Old Rusian Philosophy"; Simon Franklin (Great Britain)—"About *Philosophers* and *Philosophy* in Kyivan Rus'"; M. I. Černyšova (Moscow)—"The Medieval Idea of Similarity in the Slavic World"; H. Šapovalov (Zaporižžja)—"On the Early Christian 'Anchor Cross' Sign and the Sign of Rurik's Dynasty"; and Alexander Avenarius (Bratislava)—"Byzantium and the Beginning of Rusian Monasticism." The communication of Georgios Kakridis (Bonn)—"The Reception of Gregorios Palamas' Confession in Ukraine"—merits special attention: in the "Отпис на лист . . . Іпатія Потія" by Kliryk Ostroz'kyj (Ostrih, 1598), in the appendix devoted to the description of the Union of Florence, the author observes the abridged and elaborated version of Gregorios Palamas' speech at the Synod of 1351, where his confession is exposed; the triadologic introduction is combined with the anti-Latin Patristic anthology.

One of the most lively sessions focused on musicology. Among the scholars who spoke on the musical culture of Ukraine and its Byzantine sources were Galina Aleksejeva (Vladivostok)—"The Problems of the Adaptation of Byzantine Chant in Rus'"; E. I. Koljada (Moscow)—"Genres of the Old Rusian Hymnography: Byzantine Relations and Authentic Traditions"; A.V. Konotop

(Moscow)—"Ecclesiastical Chant after *Cheironomy* with *Eison* in Rus' of the Tenth through Sixteenth Centuries"; Irina Lozovaja (Moscow)—"*Znamenny* Notation of the Pre-Mongol Period: Byzantino-Rusian Synthesis"; J. L. Roccasalvo—"The *Znamenny* Chant"; Irina Školnik and Marina Školnik (Moscow)—"An Attempt at a Comparative Study of Byzantine *Eichos* and Old Rusian *Hlas* (on the Material of *Heirmologia*)"; Nina Ulff-Müller (Copenhagen)—"The *Stichera* Tradition in Byzantine and Rusian Musical Manuscripts from the Fifteenth through Seventeenth Centuries"; and Tat'iana Vladyševskaja (Moscow)—"Byzantine and Old Rusian Musical Notation and Its Symbolic Sources."

The following speakers dealt with the literature of Kyivan Rus' in the context of the Byzantine tradition: Gerhard Podskalsky (Germany)—"The Spiritual Literature of Kyivan Rus' (988–1237)"—and David K. Prestel (USA)—"The Kyivan Caves Patericon and the Byzantine Patericon Tradition." The topical and important theme of translation from Greek into Church Slavonic was developed by Jean Pierre Arrignon (France)—"Byzantine Culture in Kyivan Rus': the Problem of Translations"; K. M. MacRobert (Great Britain)—"The Technique of Translation into Church Slavonic before the Late Fifteenth Century (on the Material of the Psalterion)"; Rainer Stichel (Stuttgart)—"The Problem of Translation of Byzantine Texts into Slavic Languages"; and Olga Strakhova (USA)—"Translations of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Authors in Muscovite Rus' of the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century." These communications, although not of direct concern to Ukraine, are of importance for the study of corresponding themes in Ukrainian materials.

Photios Demetracopoulos (Athens) presented his book (dissertation) on Arsenios, the bishop of Elasson who worked as a teacher of Greek in the school of the L'viv Confraternity between 1586 and 1588. Some communications were devoted to the Byzantine colonies on the northern Black Sea Coast.

One of the most interesting plenary reports was the paper of Boris Fonkič ("Russia and the Christian East in the Sixteenth through the First Half of the Eighteenth Centuries. Some Results of Studies. Sources. Perspectives of Research"). The problems of the study of post-Byzantino-Russian contacts formulated by the author could be successfully used for the relations between the post-Byzantine cultural heritage and Ukraine. Of especial importance would be the relations between Ukraine and the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria, financial assistance by Ukrainian magnates to the Orthodox East, Ukraine and Mount Athos, Greeks in Ukraine in the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, the lives and activity of outstanding Greek scholars in Ukraine, Greco-Slavonic schools in Ukraine, and the compilation of a catalogue of Greek documents on the history of Greco-Ukrainian relations in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.

On the whole, Ukrainian subjects were scantily represented at the Congress. Papers and communications of Ukrainian scholars (as well as foreign scholars

dealing with Ukrainian history and culture) were devoted generally to very concrete problems of Byzantine relations and influences. The problem of post-Byzantine relations with Ukraine remained almost completely untouched. None of the scholars gave a general evaluation of the role of the Byzantine legacy in Ukrainian culture. This could be explained by the fact that since the 1930s, no attention has been paid to Byzantine studies in Ukraine. They did not develop as a separate and independent field of the humanities. This was clearly witnessed by the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow.

The texts of major reports and résumés of the section communications were published in the three volumes of Congress materials. Another volume contains the list of participants with their addresses. During the Congress, a meeting of the Bureau of the Comité International d'Études Byzantines was held. Professor Ihor Ševčenko was reelected the President of the Association for the next five years. The Nineteenth Congress will take place in Copenhagen.

Andrii Iasynovskyi

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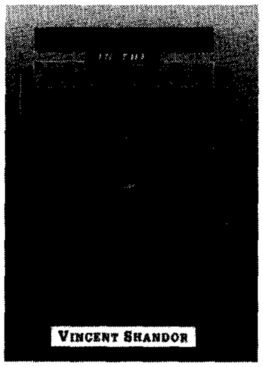
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